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ABSTRACT

During this century the number of women in administrative positions in the schools has declined dramatically. This literature review provides insight into this situation. It presents statistical details of the decline in the number of women administrators, factors contributing to this decline, attempts at reversing the decline, and insight into the informal processes operating within society as a whole and within the institution of education in particular that limit the effectiveness of attempts at change. The review concludes with a presentation of some strategies that may effectively intervene in the informal processes and with suggested directions for further research into women's participation in the field of administration. It notes that researchers tend to agree that the only way any real changes in the hiring patterns in the field are going to take place is for a large number of women to be hired immediately. (Author/IRT)

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WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION: THE PRINCIPALSHIP

A Literature Review

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Preface

> The public schools of the United States would be in a sad plight if women were not permitted to serve as principals . . . Well-trained women, experienced women, strong women are ready to step into any principalship that may be open. Shall they be passed by to appoint a man merely because he is a man? Hardly! . . . The only justification for appointing any individual, man or woman, to be principal of an important school is that of superior qualifications. (The Woman Principal: A Fixture in American Schools, School Life, June, 1926)

The positive, equalitarian attitude expressed by the author of this passage reflects the vision of a period in history when women were becoming public school principals and attaining higher positions in educational administration in greater and greater numbers (Kalvelage, 1978). This author could not have envisioned the decline in women's representation which began only a few years after this passage was written and which has indeed resulted in a "sad plight" for public schools in the United States.

The author describes women as a "fixture in American schools." A review of current literature on women in education reveals that although this description remains apt for women in teaching positions, the decline in women's representation in the principalship and other administrative positions has changed the appropriate description of women principals from "fixture" to "token." Women principals are in the same awkward situation as Kanter (1977) found women managers in other large corporations:

> The numerically dominant types control the group and its culture . . . . Tokens are often treated as representatives of their category, as symbols rather than as individuals (p. 208).

The literature also reveals one of the unfortunate results of women's token position: the development and reinforcement of stereotyped images and attitudes. Negative preconceptions create barriers to efforts designed to reverse the downward employment spiral. Informal and subconscious organizational hiring and promotional procedures resulting from these beliefs perpetuate discrimination. The administrative field becomes a closed system simply because opening the system makes the dominant group uncomfortable.

> Keeping management positions in the hands of people of one's kind provides reinforcement for the belief that people like oneself actually deserve to have such authority . . . Management positions again become easily closed to people who are different (Kanter, 1977, p. 242).

The following review provides insight into the development of this situation and its effects upon employment in the field of educational administration. It presents the statistical details of women's decline in representation, some factors contributing to this decline, some attempts at reversing the situation and some insight into the informal processes operating within society as a whole, and within the institution of education in particular, that limit the effectiveness of these attempts. The review concludes with a presentation of some strategies which may effectively intervene in the informal processes and some suggested directions for further research into women's participation in the field of education.

Methodology

The literature search used a number of different approaches to locating information relevant to minority and nonminority women in the principalship, such as: computer searches; contacts with national, regional and local educational organizations and research groups including member associations of principals, school boards, women's groups and black educators; government agencies responsible for maintaining national data bases, such as the Equal Educational Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES); researchers identified by consultants and NIE staff associated with the project. About 75 organizations were approached and a number of researchers provided unpublished data and drafts of reports. The names of the Review and Advisory Committee members, project consultants, NIE project staff and JWK project staff are listed in Appendix A.

The computer search examined certain indexes (Education Index, Women's Study Abstract and Social Science Citation Index), dissertation abstracts and ERIC. The descriptors "administrator" and "administration" used in conjunction with women, Black, Hispanic, Asian and Native American were most productive in the index searches as well as in the review of dissertation abstracts. Four sets of descriptors used for the ERIC data base on-line search are listed in Appendix B. Sets A, B and D identify the literature on women. Set A focuses on administration, sets B and C on minorities and women, while set D is included to eliminate literature dealing with higher education. Three sets of descriptors used for an ABI Inform data base on-line search as an entry into business/management literature include the following:

- schools
  high schools
  education
- administration
  free text: school principal(s)
- minorities
  women

The material described in this study reflects national, regional and local data collected primarily in the last decade except in those cases where trend data are available from earlier comparable studies. The references selected for this review are those which were considered most useful in examining and interpreting the status of women in the principalship, and in administration in general.

Even though a relatively large bibliography has been assembled (Appendix C), much of the research cited in it is limited in methodology and content. Shakeshaft (1979), in evaluating dissertations concerned with women in educational administration for the period 1973 through 1978, noted the following:

> In general, the research has been descriptive. The representative (study) queried administrators at the K-12 level using the survey method with a paper and pencil questionnaire as the primary means for data collection. The results are analyzed according to the descriptive methods of frequency, percentages, or measures of central tendency...
>
> The integrated findings include: status of the woman administrator, profile of the woman administrator, barriers to the woman in administration, attitudes of and about the woman administrator, and structural effects within the organization and their relationship to the woman administrator.

Acknowledgment

The authors wish to thank the many people contributing their research and suggestions to this project. Their thoughts and material were invaluable to this review which should be useful in the effort to open the field of educational administration to all qualified educators regardless of sex and race.

Current Status of Women in Educational Administration and the Principalship

Women have long outnumbered men in education, and today women still pursue careers in education to a greater extent than men do. In 1977, women earned more than two-thirds of the bachelor's and master's degrees in education and over one-third of the doctor's degrees (NCES, 1979). Despite their long involvement in education, their background of supervisory experience in the schools and the fact that they continue to outnumber men in the field, women are greatly underrepresented in the principalship and other school administrative positions.

Statistical Overview

Nationwide comparisons from a variety of studies show that over the past 50 years, the representation of women in the principalship has been steadily declining. In 1910, more than half of all supervisory positions in education were filled by women (Estler, 1975), a situation which continued until the 1930s. Since then, as shown in a series of national surveys conducted by the National Association of Elementary School Principals (NAESP), the proportion of women elementary school principals in the nation's schools has dwindled from 55 percent in 1928 to 41 percent in 1948, 38 percent in 1958, 22 percent in 1968 and finally to 18 percent in 1978 (Pharis and Zachariya, 1979). Surveys by the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) report that the proportion of women in that position has dropped from 10 percent in 1965 to 7 percent in 1977 (Byrne, Hines, and McCleary, 1978). Most women high school principals (81 percent) work in nonpublic schools: 28 percent in parochial schools, and 53 percent in other private religious schools. Both the NAESP and the NASSP surveys included principals from public and nonpublic schools.

The status of women in public schools since 1974 is documented in statistics released by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), an independent Federal agency. Through six annual employment surveys covering private employers, apprenticeship programs, labor unions, state and local governments, elementary and secondary schools, and colleges and universities, the Commission tabulates and stores data on the ethnic, racial and sex characteristics of employees at all job levels within the reported groups.

EEOC data on the employment of selected groups of administrators in public school systems in 1974, 1976 and 1978 are presented in Table 1. The most recent data (1978) show that 13.3 percent of the principals in public schools are women and 2.8 percent are minority women. The data also show that women are less well represented in principalships than in central office executive positions (17.5 percent), in nonteaching assistance principalships (22.2 percent) and as consultants

Table 1

Percentages of Women and of Minority Women and Minority Men by Ethnicity in Selected Administrative Positions in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1974, 1976, and 1978

Subgroups	Central Office Executive Positions			Principals			Non-Teaching Assistant Principals			Consultants/ Super. Inst.		
	1974	1976	1978 [1]	1974	1976	1978 [1]	1974	1976	1978 [1]	1974	1976	1978 [1]
Percent women	14.1%	16.6%	17.5%	12.7%	13.0%	13.3%	18.5%	18.3%	22.2%	50.4%	51.6%	54.6%
Percent minority women	2.3	3.0	3.2	2.2	2.6	2.8	5.1	5.4	5.4	9.3	11.0	11.0
Black women	1.9	2.4	2.4	2.0	2.3	2.4	4.7	4.8	4.7	7.8	8.7	8.3
Hispanic women	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.6	1.2	1.7	1.9
Asian women	*	0.1	0.1	*	*	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4
Native American women	*	0.1	0.2	*	*	0.1	*	*	*	0.1	0.3	0.3
Percent minority men	5.0	5.8	5.8	7.1	7.6	7.3	12.7	13.6	13.8	4.8	5.0	5.4
Black men	3.6	3.7	3.6	5.7	5.8	5.6	11.0	11.4	11.4	3.5	3.5	3.6
Hispanic men	1.0	1.6	1.7	1.0	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.8	2.0	1.0	1.1	1.1
Asian men	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.5
Native American men	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2

* Less than .05 percent.

[1] These percentages are estimates because data are not included for several large school systems.

Note: Percentages may not add to subgroup total percentages because of rounding errors.

Source: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Elementary-Secondary Staff Information (EEO-5) Annual Surveys, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1974, 1976 and 1978 (unpublished).
Mail questionnaires sent to stratified samples of school districts with 250 or more students.

and supervisors of instruction (54.6 percent). While these percentages are based on substantial populations, it should be noted that data are missing from several large school systems in the country. These systems are in urban areas which tend to employ more minority administrators (Byrne et al., 1978; Pharis and Zachariya, 1979).

The category "administrative positions" in Table 2 merges data from the first three columns of Table 1. These trend data show about a 2 percent gain for women in public school administration during the period 1974 to 1978. In 1978, about one public school administrative position in 6 is held by a woman; only about 3 percent are held by minority women. No comparable figures are available for nonpublic schools.

Table 2

Percentages of Women and Minorities by Sex in Administrative and Teaching Positions (Public Schools Only) 1974, 1976 and 1978

Subgroups	Administrative Positions[1]			Secondary Teachers			Elementary Teachers		
	1974	1976	1978	1974	1976	1978	1974	1976	1978
Women	14.2%	15.2%	16.3%	45.7%	45.7%	48.6%	83.3%	83.0%	83.6%
Minority Women	2.8	3.3	3.4	5.8	6.1	5.9	11.7	12.2	11.8
Minority Men	7.6	8.2	8.1	4.3	4.4	4.2	1.7	1.8	1.7

[1] Includes central office executive positions, principals and non-teaching assistant principals.

Source: Same as Table 1.

Relatively few women are in the top echelons of educational administration. In its last survey of full-time public school professional employees (1973), the National Education Association (NEA) reported that .5 percent of superintendents, 6.2 percent of deputy and associate superintendents and 5.3 percent of assistant superintendents were women. The American Association of School Administrators (AASA, 1979) identified 154 women district superintendents in the nation. These are the people with primary responsibility for operating

school systems. This number increased from 65 in 1974 (Howard, 1975). AASA also identified between 500 and 600 women holding other key positions such as assistant or deputy superintendents in 1979. Currently, 7 (12 percent) chief state school officers in the country are women, up from 4 in 1977-78 (Lewis, 1980). Also, of the 2,722 college presidents, 214 (8 percent) are women (American Council on Education, 1980, unpublished data).

Minority women are less represented in top administrative positions than their male counterparts. EEOC data (Table 1) show 7.3 percent of public school principalships and 8.1 percent of all administrative positions are held by minority men as compared with 2.8 and 3.4 percent, respectively, by minority women. In central office executive positions, 5.8 percent are occupied by minority men as compared with 3.2 percent by minority women. Minority women hold more positions as consultants and supervisors of instruction (11 percent) than they do other administrative positions. The number of new projects under Federal legislation such as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act which use the services of minorities in supervisory and managerial positions may explain this finding.

The promotion of black men more then black women to administrative jobs is shown in a survey of blacks in administrative positions in large school districts of 100,000 or more population during the 1972-1973 school year. Through this survey and observations of hiring and promotion patterns, Doughty (1980) found fewer black women than black men being promoted from teaching to administration. Prior to 1966, 29 percent of the blacks promoted were women. Since then the representation of women declined to 24 percent (Doughty, 1977).

Women's potential employment as principals varies according to geographical location. The midwestern and western states at one time provided the best opportunity for women to attain administrative positions in the public schools. A 1928 report on women in educational administration notes that in some states (e.g., Colorado, North Dakota, Minnesota and Arizona), county superintendencies were more often held by women than by men. However, these percentages now reflect the decline observed on the national level.

Historically, the rural South and Southwest were the best areas for minority women to obtain supervisory positions The Roll Call section of The Jeanes Story (Williams et al., 1979) indicates that at least 80 percent of Jeanes supervisors who worked in schools in 16 southern and southwestern states from 1908 to 1968 were women. This important phase of the history of black education is discussed in the chapter on social changes affecting the status of women in educational administration.

A number of sources show areas of the country where women and minority women are employed as principals. According to state rankings published by the Project on Equal Education Rights of the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, the highest percentages of women are employed as administrators in the states listed in Table 3. A state-by-state summary of the numbers of principals grouped by sex within race for 1976 appears in Table 4. The 1977 NASSP survey data show that women secondary school principals are most likely to be found in the Mid-Atlantic states (35 percent) and Midwestern states (29 percent).

Table 3

States with Highest Percentages of Women in Administrative Positions 1976

State	Percent	State	Percent
District of Columbia	51%	West Virginia	19%
Maryland	30	California	16
Florida	23	Vermont	16
Hawaii	23	Connecticut	15
Virginia	22	North Carolina	15

Source: PEER, 1979 revised (from NCES, 1979 (b)).

Profile of Women Principals

Descriptions of the characteristics of principals, and especially of women principals, appear in surveys conducted by the NASSP, the NAESP and in many other research studies included in this review. Trends are noted when comparable studies are replicated as happens with NAESP and NASSP data. Although these findings are discussed more completely in later chapters, several are presented here in order to profile the woman principal.

Over the years women elementary principals have been consistently older than their male counterparts. Trend data published by NAESP show average ages of elementary principals since 1928 for each year it conducted surveys (Table 5). Other studies from different years, regions and samples found the typical woman elementary principal to be in her mid-50s and her male counterpart in his early 40s (Paddock, 1977, 1978; Robinson, 1978; Smith, J.A., 1977; Tracy, 1971; Way, 1976). Four out of five of the respondents to the Payne and Jackson survey of black women administrators (1978) were between the ages of 40 and 59. Respondents to Ortiz and Venegas in their survey of 46 Chicana administrators in Los Angeles, however, were younger than those responding to other surveys. Half of them were under 39 years of age; 85 percent were under age 50.

Table 4: NUMBERS OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS BY SEX WITHIN RACE AND BY STATE - 1976

State	Nonminority Male	Minority Male	Black Male	Hispanic Male	Asian Male	American Indian Male	Nonminority Female	Minority Female	Black Female	Hispanic Female	Asian Female	American Indian Female
Alabama	879	246	244	--	--	2	164	33	33	--	--	--
Alaska	161	7	3	2	--	3	10	4	2	--	1	1
Arizona	551	69	16	51	--	2	70	11	4	6	1	--
Arkansas	700	56	52	--	--	4	128	21	21	--	--	--
California	4,887	529	190	241	51	47	758	208	140	44	19	5
Colorado	906	61	16	41	4	--	84	14	8	6	--	--
Connecticut	884	35	30	4	--	1	96	9	9	--	--	--
Delaware	151	23	22	--	--	1	17	4	4	--	--	--
Florida	1,383	224	211	12	--	1	341	88	79	8	--	1
Georgia	1,265	299	295	2	--	2	166	79	77	2	--	--
Idaho	378	--	--	--	--	--	39	--	--	--	--	--
Illinois	3,032	195	187	6	1	1	392	103	101	2	--	--
Indiana	1,782	59	54	1	1	3	103	39	37	1	--	1
Iowa	1,258	20	6	3	--	11	70	--	--	--	--	--
Kansas	1,184	35	17	6	--	12	58	7	7	--	--	--
Kentucky	1,047	22	21	1	--	--	89	18	18	--	--	--
Louisiana	893	337	334	3	--	--	150	87	84	--	1	2
Maine	440	4	--	1	--	3	46	--	--	--	--	--
Maryland	818	124	124	--	--	--	287	115	114	1	--	--
Massachusetts	1,553	28	26	2	--	--	285	20	19	1	--	--
Michigan	2,725	195	181	11	2	1	430	89	86	1	--	2
Minnesota	1,358	18	5	--	3	10	130	5	5	--	--	--
Mississippi	538	211	211	--	--	--	102	36	36	--	--	--
Missouri	1,584	110	104	4	--	2	187	44	44	--	--	--
Montana	319	4	--	1	1	2	21	--	--	--	--	--
Nebraska	489	5	5	--	--	--	93	16	9	--	--	7
Nevada	184	15	9	4	--	2	14	2	2	--	--	--
New Hampshire	300	--	--	--	--	--	28	--	--	--	--	--
New Jersey	1,638	124	114	7	3	--	189	51	51	--	--	--

Table 4 (Continued)

NUMBERS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS BY SEX WITHIN RACE AND BY STATE
1976

State	Nonminority Male	Minority Male	Black Male	Hispanic Male	Asian Male	American Indian Male	Nonminority Female	Minority Female	Black Female	Hispanic Female	Asian Female	American Indian Female
New Mexico	316	154	1	141	--	12	36	23	--	20	--	3
New York	1,309	208	161	43	3	1	463	135	117	18	--	--
North Carolina	1,475	367	349	--	--	18	152	34	34	--	--	--
North Dakota	191	--	--	--	--	--	3	--	--	--	--	--
Ohio	3,118	137	131	2	2	1	402	101	100	--	--	1
Oklahoma	1,140	131	35	--	--	96	107	12	7	--	--	5
Oregon	847	19	4	2	1	12	62	3	2	--	1	--
Pennsylvania	2,513	121	116	3	1	1	179	49	48	--	--	1
Rhode Island	251	1	1	--	--	--	54	1	1	--	--	--
South Carolina	729	261	261	--	--	--	103	35	35	--	--	--
South Dakota	318	1	--	--	--	1	32	--	--	--	--	--
Tennessee	1,302	132	131	1	--	--	212	49	49	--	--	--
Texas	3,088	549	233	304	1	11	416	137	79	58	--	--
Utah	517	3	--	2	1	--	16	--	--	--	--	--
Vermont	149	--	--	--	--	--	16	--	--	--	--	--
Virginia	1,235	213	208	2	--	3	251	67	66	1	--	--
Washington	1,335	35	16	2	4	13	63	11	11	--	--	--
West Virginia	821	10	10	--	--	--	284	9	8	1	--	--
Wisconsin	1,487	19	17	2	--	--	164	11	11	--	--	--
Wyoming	221	1	--	1	--	--	14	--	--	--	--	--
Totals	57,649	5,417	4,150	909	79	279	7,561	1,780	1,558	170	23	29

Source: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Elementary-Secondary Staff Information (EEO-5) Annual Surveys, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1974, 1976 and 1978 (unpublished).
Mail questionnaires sent to stratified samples of school districts with 250 or more students.

Table 5

Average Ages of Elementary Principals
1928 to 1978

	1928	1948	1958	1968	1978
Men	43	44	45	43	45
Women	49	50	52	56	49

Source: Pharis and Zachariya, 1979.

Women principals tend to attain the principalship at an older age than men principals do. Although women choose education as a profession and generally enter teaching earlier than men do, Paddock (1978) found that most women principals did not seek administrative positions until the age of 31 and did not attain such a position until after the age of 32. Carlson (1972) suggests that men seek administrative careers in their mid to late 20s and obtain their first appointment within 3 to 4 years. Gross and Trask (1976), in a national study of 189 elementary principals, found that twice as many men as women were under age 36 when they attained the principalship. Doughty found that minority women entering the principalship are usually in their mid-40s to mid-50s. (Some of the reasons identified for these differences are discussed in the aspirations and career paths chapters.

Women principals, like men, start their careers in classrooms, but wait longer than men for promotion to principalships. The average woman principal has 15 years of teaching experience prior to an administrative appointment compared to about 5 years for the average male principal (Estler, 1975; Gross & Trask, 1967; Levandowsky, 1977; Paddock, 1978; Robinson, 1978; Smith, J.A., 1977; Tracy, 1971, Way, 1976). Doughty found that minority women generally have between 12 and 20 years of experience in the classroom or in assistant principalships before becoming full-time principals.

Women principals tend to pursue graduate degrees while employed as principals. Although studies show that women sometimes receive graduate degrees after obtaining administrative positions (Paddock, 1978; Knezevich, 1971), most of Hankins's 1,080 respondents indicated that they completed master's degrees on a part-time basis before becoming principals (1978). Well over half of the respondents to Doughty's survey held master's degrees. Almost all principals surveyed by Payne and Jackson had masters's degrees; 8 percent had doctor's

degrees, and an additional 10 percent were enrolled in doctoral programs in educational administration. Four out of five Chicana respondents to the Ortiz-Venegas survey had earned master's degrees; 45 percent majored in educational administration.

Women principals also tend to earn less than men principals. J.A. Smith (1977) compared the average male and female principals' salaries in the Pennsylvania public schools. This study revealed some levels where women's salaries were slightly higher than their male counterparts. However, when the comparisons were made by highest educational level and years of professional experience, women in all categories were found to have annual salaries from $800 to $3,000 or more below the annual salaries of men.

The NASSP study (1978) disclosed great disparity between the salaries of men and women in the principalship even when salaries were adjusted for women respondents who were nuns. Seventy percent of the women in contrast with 25 percent of the men earn salaries of less than $20,000. Salaries in the high range ($28,000 and over) seem to be more equitably distributed: 15 percent of the women and 18 percent of the men earn these amounts.

Summary

The statistics in this chapter show the status of women and minority women in the principalship and other categories of administrative positions. Current percentages of women in public schools are extremely low, reflect a lack of representation and, until recently, were decreasing.

Researchers suggest reasons for this decline and for the fact that efforts to reverse this trend have limited success. This report focuses on what can be learned from this research that would lead to better utilization of women's skills in educational leadership.

Social Changes Affecting the Status of Women in Educational Administration

Researchers have examined social changes and have found that no single issue but a combination of many historical, political, social and legal events changed the dimensions of the principal's role and women's participation in that role. Some of these events are outlined in the sections below:

Selected Historical Events Affecting Women in the Principalship

Gribskov (1980) and Kalvelage (1978) discuss the effects of the first wave of feminism (1900 to 1930) on increasing women's participation in educational administration. In a study of women's history in 11 western and midwestern states (Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, California, Nevada, New Mexico, and Arizona), Gribskov asserts that women's organizations such as The General Federation of Women's Clubs were the most influential forces in promoting greater economic and political equality for women and in working for reforms to aid women professionals. These organizations were not necessarily devoted to women's suffrage (the Federation did not go on record for suffrage until 1914), but they worked toward expanding women's influence in social reform and women's participation in management.

Expanding women's influence meant that more women were going to college. Gribskov (1980) found that during the period 1900 to 1930, women attended college at a rate unequalled until the 1970s and held a proportion of professional positions still not equalled. Bernard (1964) reports that in 1920, women constituted 47 percent of all college and university students. During the period 1928 to 1930, women received 40 percent of all master's degrees and 15 percent of all doctor's degrees conferred. A large number of these degrees were in the field of education.

Women's opportunities to use their administrative training in education increased as women were granted the right to vote in school elections and to hold elected positions such as school directorships and county and state superintendencies. These changes in voting rights occurred long before general suffrage. Gribskov (1980) reports that women participated in local and state elections in Kansas in 1859; by 1910 women were voting in 24 states. The Supreme Court of Washington State, in the Russell v. Guptill decision of 1895, upheld women's right to hold elected positions.

At the turn of the century, a great many of the women college graduates became teachers. These teachers often aspired to and attained county superintendencies in the West and Midwest. The positions were offices of consequence in the early part of this century, often serving as training grounds for leadership in both politics and education (Gribskov).

School districts in the West and Midwest were often small and remote, with the schools administered by a head teacher or principal. The county superintendent was expected to visit the schools in her district regularly, and these visits often involved long and hazardous trips on horseback or by boat. The rigors of the county superintendency produced many dynamic women state superintendents.

By 1928, women constituted nearly two-thirds of the county superintendents in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, California, Nevada, New Mexico and Arizona. Although many were superintendents of small, remote districts, several women administered large school systems. Susan Miller Dorsey supervised the Los Angeles school system from 1920 to 1929. Upon her retirement in 1929, she was lauded as "America's greatest educator" in the Journal of the National Education Association. Isabel Echols served as superintendent of Santa Fe schools for 10 years, and Ella Flagg Young administered the Chicago schools from 1909 to 1915 (James, 1971).

While western and midwestern female county supervisors traveled to rural districts administering schools, the Jeanes Supervisors were traveling in rural districts throughout the South and Southwest. A book by Williams, Jackson, Kincy, Wheeler, Davis, Crawford, Forte and Bell (1979) describes the work of these educators whose performance records reveal a range of service from participating in a rural community's canning efforts to conducting preservice and inservice training programs.

The work of the Jeanes Supervisors began on April 22, 1907, with a one million dollar endowment from Anna T. Jeanes.

> She directed that the endowment be applied solely toward the maintenance and assistance of rural, community and country schools for the southern Negroes and not for the use or benefit of large institutions, but for the purpose of rudimentary education as hereinbefore referred to and to promote peace in the land and good will among men (Williams et al., 1979, p. 93).

This gift formed the base of the Negro Rural School Fund which financed the work of the Jeanes Supervisors. These Supervisors, the overwhelming majority of whom were black women, became leaders in improving educational programs in segregated schools. Their goal was to revitalize education with useful and meaningful content.

Virginia Randolph of Henrico County, Virginia became the first Jeanes Supervisor in 1908. She had been a highly successful one-room school teacher who focused her work on improving the quality of education and community life. She served as the county's administrator from 1908 to 1948. By the 1952-53 school year, 510 Jeanes Supervisors were serving in southern states.

These Supervisors were free to follow their own ideas for school and community improvement. In the beginning they introduced simple forms of industrial work and excelled in home visitations, fund raising, forming homemaking clubs, improving gardens and promoting health services. As they traveled and worked in a variety of communities, they became experts in human relations skills, developing a facility for dealing with citizens of bi-racial communities. They often had to convince local nonminority citizens that they were helpers sent by the county superintendent to improve everyone's living conditions; they also had to convince parents and children of the value of improving the school and the community.

As community acceptance and understanding grew, the Jeanes Supervisors' role changed to one of helping teachers with classroom responsibilities. Curriculum, demonstration teaching and in-service education became their concerns. Sharing research findings in child growth and development and planning became the focus of classroom visits. These Supervisors became expert in counseling and guidance, thus helping each child to achieve within the limits of his/her uniqueness.

With the advent of good roads, motorized transportation, scientific methods of farming and electrification, rural communities changed and the needs of rural schools changed with them. In like manner, the responsibilities of Jeanes Supervisors changed. They now found themselves involved significantly in school-community surveys, school improvement projects, inservice education programs, state and regional conferences and school accreditations.

Professional leadership was the major thrust of the Jeanes Supervisors during the 1950's. Professional degrees were pursued; membership in learned societies and national professional organizations was sought and attained. Supervisors attended national conferences and used their experience and publications to plan supervisory strategies for black schools.

Kalvelage (1978) and Gribskov (1980) indicate that passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 may have adversely influenced women's participation in educational administration. Kalvelage reports that, with the passage of general suffrage, the formidable women's network began to dissolve. As women became involved in national politics, local and state school elections no longer received their undivided attention. Gribskov describes how the Federation of Women's Clubs was seriously weakened by the advent of women's suffrage. Women often switched their allegiances to the League of Women Voters, founded in 1920, which did not press feminist goals.

The economic depression of the thirties and the passage of equal pay for equal work laws also contributed to the decline of women's participation in educational administration. Kalvelage reports that prior to 1930, when school boards were actually confronted with a

choice between a low paid female candidate and a more expensive male one, many boards opted for reducing costs. However, with the advent of equal pay coupled with the often misguided perception that the male candidate had more financial responsibilities than the female one, school board decisions became increasingly more favorable to men. Kalvelage points out that the percentage of men teaching and administering elementary schools has steadily risen since the passage of state equal pay laws.

Gribskov reports that during the depression many school districts refused to hire married women as teachers and discriminated against single women in administrative promotions. The assumption behind this activity was that a married man was supporting an entire family while a single woman was supporting only herself. In fact, many single women were responsible for parents and/or siblings. Their responsibilities were at least equal to, and often greater than, those of their male counterparts.

Due to the absence of men during World War II, opportunities for women in educational administration briefly improved. Gribskov reports that many discriminatory hiring policies were reversed. Women who were administrators prior to the thirties were often recalled to lead schools during the forties. Schmuck (1980) also reports that, during World War II, restrictions against married women teachers were dropped. School systems provided day care services and women took leadership roles.

With the return of men and the advent of the G.I. Bill to provide funds for their education, women's participation in educational administration significantly declined. Comment (1976) reports that women's 6 percent participation rate in higher education in 1950 was the lowest since the turn of the century. Men's participation in higher education and their interest in educational administration began to rise dramatically. Former hiring practices such as the dual standard of wage and marital status considerations were restored.

Williams et al. (1979) report that state education policies during the 1950s and 1960s requiring the consolidation of minority and nonminority teachers in the allotment count for state aid for a supervisory unit was a major factor in the reduction of minority women supervisors. In addition, the number of teachers needed for the allotment of the first supervisory unit was raised. As a result of these new policies, school systems which had formerly employed both a minority and a nonminority supervisor to head segregated units often qualified for one supervisory unit and one supervisor. When these consolidations were effected, the minority supervisor's position was usually eliminated. This started the practice of downgrading, underemployment and unemployment of minority personnel in administration.

Some inservice Jeanes Supervisors began to meet certification requirements for principalships and for work as classroom teachers in fields such as Special Education. In isolated cases, the Jeanes Supervisor was selected as the one supervisor of instruction because of her acknowledged superior competence. However, trends indicated that minority women's participation in school system supervision in the South was rapidly deteriorating.

The NASSP study (1978) asserts that the social turmoil of the late 1960s and early 1970s had a dramatic impact upon the principalship. Although direct evidence is not available, the authors speculate that the younger appointment age to the high school principalship, the decrease in the number of older principals and the low percentage of female principals might be associated with this condition. Male principals were often perceived as being more adept at dealing with student unrest and growing discord between communities and school systems. However, studies such as those by Doughty and Ortiz tend to contradict this speculation, at least with respect to minority women principals. Both researchers found that minority women principals tend to be placed in schools experiencing social turmoil.

Not only the social turmoil referred to above but also changes in the role of principal and in the management of schools have influenced women's employment. The following section describes some of these organizational changes.

Changes in the Principalship Role Affecting Women's Participation

As schools became increasingly more complex, management positions were further separated from classroom activities, and job functions were more specifically defined. By 1918 teaching and administration were clearly separate professions. Requirements for specialized credentials were established in many states and separate departments in educational administration were emerging in universities. By 1920, principals, assistant principals, supervisors, directors, deans, attendance officers and clerks stood between the teacher and the superintendent.

Businessmen perceived school systems to be operating as cottage industries instead of big businesses, and they began to reorganize schools according to bureaucratic principles. Kalvelage (1978) reports that women were generally excluded from principalships and other administrative positions during these reorganizations. The businessman's qualifications were considered most appropriate for leadership positions in education.

Many educators joined the press and the public in looking to industrial managers for school leadership. School boards were increasingly dominated by businessmen who exemplified popular faith in scientific management. Kalvelage states that in Cubberly's widely-used textbook, published in 1916, administrators were advised that the best school

board members were highly successful businessmen. Cubberly also advised that the least appropriate school board members were inexperienced young men, unsuccessful men, retired businessmen, politicians, saloon-keepers, uneducated or relatively ignorant men in lesser business positions, and women.

Women's leadership style was perceived as inconsistent with the bureaucratization of school systems. Burstyn (1980) reports that the National Congress of Mothers (which later became the Parent Teachers' Association) and other organizations began conducting classes in the early 20th century to teach women leadership skills. These organizations pioneered a leadership style which encouraged all members to contribute to policy decisions. The League of Women Voters and the American Association of University Women conducted workshops to improve women's administrative skills. This training concentrated on the new leadership style.

Burstyn (1980) and Kalvelage (1978) discuss the continuing association between the educational system and the corporate structure. In turn, the corporate structure became closely aligned with the military due in part to the influence of the large numbers of businessmen who had served in World Wars I and II. As a result, educational leadership became more authoritarian in style. The more democratic style taught by women's organizations was often perceived as inappropriate by men seeking to administer the educational system on a more businesslike basis.

Williams et al. (1979) discuss the effect that the bureaucratization of education had on Jeanes Supervisors. Despite their beneficial work, Jeanes Supervisors were adversely affected by the new emphasis on the businessman as an educational leader. Williams et al. assert that as a result of school system bureaucratization:

> ...the Jeanes Supervisor has been caught in the web of disillusionment with the experiences of dehumanization of her people and herself. Even though most supervisory personnel are highly skilled in human relations, these skills have been ignored by school system leadership. Generally speaking, the leadership in many school systems is new because the majority group wanted to guarantee "safe" administrators. Hence, the populace overlooks the deeply experienced Supervisor, denying themselves (sic) a veritable storehouse of human relations expertise (p. 89).

Kalvelage (1978) suggests that women may have lost some of their interest in administration because it is now so far removed from teaching. Women tend to commit themselves to teaching as a first occupational choice and to elect a teaching career earlier than men do (Gross & Trask, 1976). However, this tendency may be based on more complex reasons than simply women's disinclination to give up teaching.

Biklen (1980) reports that arguments linking women's nurturant role, their submissiveness and their low salaries have been used since the turn of the century to support their suitability as teachers and especially as elementary teachers.

> ...women are seen as able to nurture children and follow directions in a tight, bureaucratic, hierarchical structure, but not able to construct or dominate the structure itself... (p. 4).

Stereotyped conceptions of women's characteristics and abilities remain consistent with the teacher's role. This has not been the case, however, with women's relationship to the principalship role. As Kanter (1977, 1980) discovered during her research on large business organizations, when a group occupies a token percentage of a certain position (such as women's token occupation of the principalship) their aspirations and their performance tend to be distorted by the stereotyped expectations of others. This concept is further explored in the chapters of this report dealing with women's career paths and aspirations.

Over the years, legislation designed to reverse the decline and to provide equal employment opportunities to women in education and other fields has been enacted. The following section briefly describes a few of these laws.

Legislation Affecting Women's Role in Educational Administration

Silver (1976) and Quarles (1965) describe some of the more recent legislation to improve women's position in education:

1954 - In its Brown vs. Board of Education decision, the Supreme Court declared that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal and hence deprive the segregated person of the equal protection of the law guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

1964 - Civil Rights Act (Title VI) prohibits sex discrimination in educational programs receiving federal funds.

1971 - Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act and Nurse Training Amendment Act, Title VII and Title VIII of the Public Service Act, prohibits discrimination in the selection of students and employees for federally assisted health training programs.

1972 - Education Amendment (Higher Education Act) is added to the Equal Pay Act of 1963.

1974 - The Women's Education Equity Act establishes women's educational programs in the Office of Education. This program

focuses on research, development, dissemination and training activities directed toward accelerating elimination of sex biases in education.

1975 - Guidelines are established for Title IX of the Education Amendments (1972) to the Equal Pay Act. These guidelines are designed to enforce Title IX, 1972 as amended by the Bayh Amendments of 1974.

1976 - Vocational Education Act requires the appointment of sex equity coordinators to assist the states in implementing equal opportunity legislation. (Each state is required to spend no less than $50,000 of federal funds to support the functions of sex equity coordinators.)

1977 - The Career Education Incentive Act authorizes grants specifically designed to eliminate sex bias and stereotyping in career education.

Summary

Despite women's past successful participation in educational administration and legislation designed to increase their representation in the principalship, women continue to be underrepresented in this role. The National Survey of Secondary School Principals (Byrne et al., 1978) concludes that:

> Findings on the underrepresentation of ethnic minorities and women in the principalship point to an undesirable state of affairs. Considering that the Federal Government, national organizations of all kinds, local associations, and universities have vigorously supported the recruitment, training, and employment of minorities and women in the principalship, the cause of the underrepresentation must be sought elsewhere. Given this, it seems paramount that the employment and career development practices of local school districts be examined thoroughly. Such examinations would yield information on the factors which have restricted the employment of women and minorities in the principalship (Vol. I, p. 60).

Kanter (1977) discovered that once a token representation situation exists in an organization, the organization develops hiring and promotion processes to resist changing the proportional representation. These processes are often so subtle that those who are involved in them are unaware that they are operating. Also, they are often so pervasive as to effectively counter attempts to alleviate the unbalanced situation through legislation and special programs. According to Kanter, the way to correct inequitable situations is to create a numerical balance. The following chapters discuss some of the processes at work in the educational system contributing to women's limited representation in administration and offer some suggestions for remediation of the situation.

Women's Aspirations for Leadership Positions in Education

Women's aspiration levels are influenced by intricate social factors. Some elements affecting women's career goals are socialization, stereotyped attitudes about women's ability, availability of role models, level of encouragement from family, attitudes of peers, the educational system and the nature of the principalship itself. Although no definite conclusions can be drawn simply from reviewing literature, the findings divulge the complexity of the problem and contradict the myth that it is not in women's nature to be leaders.

This chapter presents the findings of recent studies concerning women's aspirations, offers some explanations for those findings and gives some recommendations for evaluating women's aspiration levels.

Overview of Findings on Aspirations

Studies completed in the late 1950s and during the 1960s indicated that men teachers expressed much greater interest in becoming administrators than women teachers. Barter (1959) spoke of the "apathetic" attitudes of women elementary teachers after only 8 percent of the women in a sample of elementary school teachers expressed an interest in an elementary principalship. Burns (1964) and Parlato (1966) later found that many women teachers lacked both the necessary education and occupational aspiration to achieve the principalship. Dias (1976) found that the ratio of men to women teachers rating themselves at 5 or above on a 7-point aspiration scale was 3.7 to 1, which means that almost four times as many men as women hoped for administrative posts.

Recent research, however, indicates that although the aspiration levels of women teachers toward administration are significantly lower than those of men (Sample, 1976), the gap may be narrowing. However, in two more recent studies, 30 percent and 50 percent of the women teachers surveyed expressed interest in administration (Williams et al., 1977 and Baughman, 1977, respectively). In Baughman's study, those who did aspire to principalships further stated that they believed they were qualified, and apparently they were, based on education, prior leadership and employment experience.

The reasons for women's new interest in administration may be partially explained by Ortiz (1980) and Kanter (1977). These researchers observed that women often hesitate to express their aspirations and actively seek administrative careers. The norms which led women to restrict their visibility may be changing. Women may now feel that it is appropriate for them to join their male colleagues in openly seeking career advancement.

Fisher's (1980) findings from a survey of 359 Michigan teachers approximate those in other similar regional studies and are indicative of national trends.

- A higher percentage of women than men (20 percent women to 13 percent men) said they aspired to elementary principalships; however, a higher percentage of men than women applied for this position (12 percent men to 1 percent women).

- Of the teachers surveyed, 16 percent of the men aspired to secondary principalships, but only 9 percent of the women expressed the same interest. None of the women applied, but 5 percent of the men did.

- More men applied for central office positions (6 percent of the men, no women); the percentage of men and women expressing a desire for such positions was 27 percent men to 20 percent women.

- When questioned about aspirations for superintendencies, 12 percent of the men and 2 percent of the women said they would want such a position; however, none of the subjects applied.

Other relevant findings in the Fisher survey showed that a greater percentage of women than men felt that women could be both successful as administrators and happily married (34 to 21 percent). More of the women than men indicated that they were encouraged at home to obtain degrees (89 to 79 percent). More men than women disagreed with the idea that family responsibilities were keeping them from seeking an administrative position, and a higher percentage of women would not want to move to become an administrator (75 percent to 63 percent).

When asked if they saw an administrative position as personally attainable, 68 percent of the men said "yes" compared with 41 percent of the women. More men (54 percent) than women (36 percent) disagreed with the notion that there was too much competition in becoming an administrator. Respondents were in close agreement with the statement that men are more often chosen for administrative positions (75 percent women, 72 percent men); however, more women (57 percent) than men (40 percent) felt that men with less experience advance faster simply because of their sex. More men (40 percent) than women (17 percent) were encouraged by an administrator to apply for an administrative post.

Fisher expressed major concern over the apparent apathy of classroom teachers toward policy leadership. In her survey, 80 percent of the men teachers and an even higher percentage of women teachers expressed no administrative ambitions.

Women administrators indicate that their first commitment was to teaching and that their administrative aspirations came during their teaching careers. Gross & Trask (1976), in a national survey of principals, discovered that 65 percent of female principals decided to become teachers in their senior year of high school; only 27 percent of the male principals had made such an early commitment. More women (85 percent) than men (46 percent) reported that teaching was their first occupational choice.

Payne and Jackson's survey findings on aspirations were not conclusive. Black women tend to be independent in applying for leadership positions; almost half of them obtained their current positions by applying without sponsorship after receiving encouragement from a supervisor or co-worker. Although this fact might indicate a high level of aspiration, it must be noted that the majority of respondents did not aspire beyond their current employment as elementary principals, possibly a reflection of the fact that 43 percent of them were between ages 50 to 60 and probably contemplating retirement. Respondents to Payne and Jackson's interviews stated that they did not consider becoming administrators until encouraged to do so during their teaching careers. One interviewee voiced a typical response:

> I never expected to be in the field of administration and that's natural for almost everybody. I had a very humble beginning in administration. I happened to have wanted to be just a teacher.

Coffin and Ekstrom (1979) examined long-term or ultimate goals among 64 women administrators in 20 states and the District of Columbia. About two-thirds of the respondents were professionals in local education agencies; another 18 percent were faculty members or administrators in higher education. These two researchers found that 61 percent had specific posts to which they aspired; 26 percent were not specific, and 13 percent had no immediate job ambitions. Women with doctorates and women in their 30s and 40s were more likely to know what jobs they wanted than women with master's degrees and women in their 50s. As might be expected, women who had definite career plans applied for jobs more often than those with unspecified or no eventual aspirations.

Again, no specific conclusions about women's aspirations can be drawn without an examination of the respondents' work experience and current job situation. A review of the literature suggests some of the complex reasons for this situation.

Factors Affecting Women's Aspirations

Women's socialization often results in ambivalence concerning their leadership aspirations. Clement (1980) reports that women are brought up to believe that they should have low career expectations. If they aspire to leadership positions, they often find it difficult to fit this priority into their own value system. Women are trained to accept a narrow, restricting definition of their occupational roles. Males are also socialized into career roles, but sex-role stereotyping is more restrictive for women. In the past, women working outside the home were encouraged to remain in the low-paying service careers of nursing, secretarial work, teaching and home economics while men were encouraged to achieve within a wider range of occupational possibilities. Women have been socialized to experience achievement and satisfaction vicariously by functioning in a supportive capacity rather than by attaining their own career goals (Tibbetts, 1979).

Pursuing higher education or careers requires women to assume traits which may be opposite to those of their early socialization. The female sex role in the United States has been equated with either the absence or repression of independence. Women who seek independence and intellectual achievement may be thought of or may think of themselves as acting in opposition to the conventions of sex-appropriate behavior. The qualities associated with top-level administrative leadership: intellectual achievement, competence, independence and competition, are also associated with masculinity and thus inconsistent with the popular concept of femininity.

Biklen (1980) agrees that when women attempt to succeed in a field traditionally reserved for men, they must face both the difficulties associated with competence and talent and the perceived violations of sex-role norms. Women whose aspirations contradict these cultural standards confront the additional psychological stress of internal ambivalence. Women either develop strategies to deal with traditional career pressures and their additional struggle with cultural norms and values or they lower their expectations (Biklen, 1980).

Antonucci (1980) observes that women's socialization in educational institutions supports society's restrictive view of women's career expectations. Women students in education seem to be primarily trained in the mode of traditional women and only secondarily as students preparing for a lifetime career. As a result, these women do not consider their own career aspirations as primary. Instead, they tend to adopt "appropriate" female aspirations.

Education becomes a safety measure that allows them to maintain themselves financially should life events ever require such independence or to contribute adequately to a secondary family income. A career in education does not force a break with traditional views of women's role. It is seen as the perfect compromise solution. If women students

in education are to perceive themselves as leaders in the field, some degree of resocialization will be necessary to counter their early experiences (Antonucci, 1980). The prevalent socialization may have the following consequences for women.

- They may have set unchallenging goals for themselves, which can lead to depression and failure.
- Their traditional views on women's role are reinforced by a predominance of male full professors, with a few female assistant professors, and a predominance of male administrators in the public school system.
- As teachers they will probably perpetuate all the biases and limitations of the traditional, stereotyped view of women that limited their own development.
- They will fail to enrich education because of their limited investment in their own professionalism.
- They will fail to become leaders.

Some women students have managed to escape sex-biased career socialization and arrive in school with realistically high aspirations. Without appropriate role models, however, these students may reassess their goals downward. If a new student anticipates teaching at the college level or being a high school principal but notices the absence of women in these positions, she may re-evaluate the possibilities of attaining her goals. If the few women in a department are consistently treated as outsiders rather than as part of the power structure, the student may decide that her goals are unrealistic.

Kanter (1977) found that employees in large corporations have low aspirations when they think their chances for advancement are minimal. Aspirations are not necessarily low to begin with, but they may be lowered as people encounter the realities of their job situation. Kanter asserts that "things may become less valuable as they become less likely "(p. 141).

Antonucci (1980) stresses the importance of placing more women leaders in the mainstream of organizational power. When this happens, women will no longer be tokens in administration. Stereotypes such as considering female supervisors as unfeminine or equating femininity to incompetence in leadership roles can be dispelled. As long as these stereotypes influence hiring and promotion, negative feelings may be communicated to women aspirants who, not wanting to lose their femininity or to have their femininity construed as incompetence, will lower their aspirations accordingly. Ortiz (1980, p.7) found that token women administrators were often commented upon as examples of how not to be a woman:

A female teacher said, "I don't want to ever be an administrator. When I look at Dr. Denton and when I hear about her coldness and how bright she is, I know I'd never be happy being like that. She's not feminine at all."

Another male teacher said, "She's just like an administrator. She strides through our grounds. When she meets with us, she's so impersonal, businesslike and efficient. She dresses as if she's in some corporate meeting and her hairdo is always so severe."

One of her subordinates, a supervisor, said, "She's demanding: She wants perfection. She's too much! Of all the administrators in this district, she's the ultimate. She's here early; she is always ready, and she leaves late. Sometimes I feel she knows more about my work than I do."

The problem of conflicts with what Biklen terms "feminine ethics" extends to an aspiring woman's family as well as her school and career relationships. Some career patterns require mobility, yet many women feel their limited mobility restricts their access to career positions. Traditional family life often means that women with careers have two full-time jobs. This reflects the perception that the combination of family and career is not only out of the ordinary, but also the woman's sole responsibility, not one shared with her husband. The woman successfully combining family and career is viewed as unusual.

Because of this traditional perception of women's family role, a woman's motherhood role is often evaluated in addition to her professional success. Social attitudes suggest that women who work are masculine; therefore, they must explain why they want to work. Femininity must continually be proved.

Women in administrative careers report that family encouragement is an important factor in setting career goals. While the conflicts between women's career goals and society's expectations of women's role in the family discussed above may depress aspirations, support from family members may be one of the most important factors in increasing and maintaining high career aspirations. All respondents to surveys by Doughty (1980), Payne and Jackson (1978), and Coffin and Ekstrom (1977) reported that husband and family support and understanding of the demands of administrative careers significantly contributed to their ability to maintain high goals when other factors discouraged their aspirations.

Respondents to Payne and Jackson's survey (90 percent of whom reported receiving family support and encouragement of their professional efforts made the following comments in answer to the question, "Do you feel that it's possible to have a demanding professional career and maintain a harmonious marriage simulataneously?" (pp. 11-12).

- I don't have too much of a problem with it. I find it necessary to separate out these various parts of my life. So when I'm working I try to give my full attention to that and when I go home as a wife, or a grandmother, I have separated these roles.

- I am very fortunate, in that I'm married to a man who is secure and not threatened by me. It's really very soothing. On the other hand, he's very traditional. Although we are very supportive of each other, when I go home I am a wife. I can kid myself into thinking that I'm in charge, but that just wouldn't work.

- I never married, and the more deeply committed I became in this one growing institution the less time I had for social activities. Men would generally take the position that I was too intellectual. So, most of my association was limited to professional kinds of activities.

- By the way, I told my husband that I would run for the school board only if he would be my research assistant. It's very possible to have a full career and a happy marriage.

- I don't know how I would have made it without my husband. He has always been supportive of everything I've become involved in. He's just a wonderful person.

- I would think that this is a problem for all women. Perhaps I think that this is a very special problem for black women because the problem of the black male has been overly dramatized to the point that any black man who is married to a woman in a leadership position has a tendency to be extra sensitive. In order to compensate for it on a personal level, I bend over backwards to sort of feed my husband's ego.

- My campaign manager for both elections was my husband. My husband was the one who pushed me most to run for the school board, so we never had any problems with my professional demands interfering with our marriage.

<u>While women tend to need encouragement and support for their leadership aspirations, unfortunately, they probably receive less than male counterparts who are trained to have higher aspirations and self confidence</u>. Clement et al. (1977) report that women need more support than men from peers, supervisors and subordinates because they have difficulty in reconciling their ambitions and their values. The absence of external support may have a greater effect on a woman than on a man because men are conditioned to persevere and seek professional success while women are not. Women may not pursue jobs when they know they will not receive the kind of support and rewards that their male colleagues do. Women's need for support will, of course, depend on the receptiveness of their work situation.

Kanter (1977) found that women may be reluctant to seek managerial positions because they would lose their peer relationships; they would no longer be part of a group of women. Men seeking managerial positions are assured peer relationships throughout managerial ranks. Clement et al. note that men's peer relationships provide them with professional support. Through the "old boy network", they receive critical information within managerial ranks and knowledge of pending and existing job vacancies. Women in management have no comparable communication system.

Women also tend to receive less encouragement and support from institutions of higher education. The low ratio of female to male faculty in higher education, expanded on later in this report, is one discouraging factor for women education students. The social environment created by these inequalities may further depress aspirations. Clement et al. cite a finding in a University of Chicago study that the more reputable graduate schools barely tolerate their female students. According to the study, this environment of nonacceptance contributes substantially to less successful graduate careers and lowers women students' expectations and aspirations toward administrative careers.

Fear of success has often been used to explain women's low aspirations. Johnson (1980) reviews several studies concerned with defining the fear of success and its possible effects on aspirations. Several theories have been advanced including those stating that fear of succeeding is really fear of deviance from traditional feminine ethics, of visibility and of rejection. Johnson concludes that although the literature suggests that women have no motive to avoid success, experience shows that they respond differently to success than men do. In-depth interviews with women who fear and those who do not fear success might suggest some important hypotheses for researchers. Also, observations of women in a variety of work situations and at home might provide more relevant data than test scores. Longitudinal studies should reveal if there is a reason to avoid success and, if so, how it developed.

Experience in the job market can depress aspirations. Women may perceive that administrative positions are sex-typed or sex-and-race-typed and thus lower their aspirations to coincide with their perceptions (Tibbetts, 1979). When the black women administrators responding to Payne and Jackson's survey were asked if they would consider a superintendency, one respondent replied:

> This is the time of the black male in my area and maybe this is true across the country. Where people have an opportunity to choose a principal or superintendent, they will almost invariably ask for a black male. In that regard, I feel that women are at a very definite disadvantage. As black people, we have got to find a way to accommodate black women also. I am not fighting against black men; I want them to rise too, but I feel that black women must have the same opportunities (p.10).

Coffin and Ekstrom (1975) conducted an informal survey of 64 women school administrators to demonstrate their hypothesis that the reported lack of ambition is really a response to roadblocks women encounter during their careers. The following were mentioned as deterrents to success by the indicated percentages of respondents, many women mentioning more than one: sex discrimination (18 percent), selected predetermined appointees (17 percent), negative attitudes of employers (15 percent), lack of appropriate experience (12 percent), racism (10 percent) and age (10 percent). The administrators responding to Coffin and Ekstrom's survey reported that they had been given the following reasons for not being selected:

- Women were not hired in school systems because of custom.
- Women were not sufficiently aggressive negotiators to direct staff relations.
- Men do not want to take directions from a woman.
- The community was not ready for a woman administrator.

The remainder of this section contains some comments of the survey respondents on their experience in the job market either in trying to get into administration or in moving up the administrative ladder (Coffin and Ekstrom, p. 57).

A Title I supervisor with more than 20 years teaching experience who made three unsuccessful applications for a principalship felt that:

> Silly as it seems, the fact that I was a woman seemed to be the biggest obstacle. My training is as good as many men. My track record in school positions is good. I was told by a university advisor not to get my administrative credentials if I wished to remain in this community and use them. The situation is gradually changing with a new superintendent who sees women as people.

Many women noted the double liability of age and sex. Employers felt a women under 30 was too young and inexperienced to deal with rough children. One woman over 50 stated "I seldom apply for jobs as recent experience tells me that age is a barrier."

Race and sex presented a barrier for many blacks.

> Blacks don't get jobs until whites have messed up the system totally and the courts or expediency require change (p. 57).

As previously noted, many women enter educational administration through "specialists" positions (i.e., expert in women's issues, minority issues or both). Higher management often perceives the specialist as an employee with limited competence, and the specialist's movement within

the system becomes restricted. As Kanter (1977) states, when opportunity and power are lacking in a position, job satisfaction and aspirations are lowered. One administrative candidate in the Coffin-Ekstrom study expresses her feelings in the following way:

> I am well qualified and have had a very successful experience base. Elementary principalships are open but I aspire to become a high school principal and superintendent. Never in a million years can you imagine the frustration.

Summary

Explanations for the level of women's aspirations are many and complex. However, most researchers agree that they are generally much lower than their male counterparts, and that action needs to be taken to raise women's aspirations and to improve their chances of attaining leadership positions. As one respondent to Coffin and Ekstrom's study states: "One's professional life ought not to be solely a series of struggles against prejudice and discrimination" (p. 60).

Women's Career Paths To Administration and the Principalship

Fewer and fewer women are becoming principals, and those who do are older and have more teaching experience than their male counterparts. Women's decline in representation and delay in obtaining administrative appointments are explained in two very different ways. Some consider women's disappearance from administration and their long pre-administrative career paths reflecting women's lack of interest in or unsuitability for principalships; others look beyond the individual toward the social institutions influencing career development to show organizational processes that restrict or eliminate women from consideration for career advancement.

This chapter reviews research studies concerned with career paths to the principalship. Career paths in this instance refer to the training and prior job assignments of school staff who eventually become principals or higher level administrators. The chapter compares the experiences in former jobs and other professional activities of men and women administrators. It traces career paths followed by women in administration and identifies changes in the work experiences which predate appointment to the principalship. It concludes with a discussion of difficulties women who aspire to administration face from childhood on through higher education and into their employment conditions in local school systems.

Overview of Career Paths to the Principalship

Of the secondary principals who responded to the 1965 NASSP survey, 38 percent had served as elementary principals and 48 percent had been guidance counselors. By 1977, the proportion that had been guidance counselors dropped from 48 percent to 18 percent. Typical work experiences in the 1977 survey included: high school assistant principal (54 percent), high school athletic director (35 percent) and junior or middle school principal or assistant principal (26 percent). These changes are examined here in light of how they might affect the appointments of women principals.

The increase in the importance of the athletic director's position will probably improve men's more than women's chances to become principals. Men hold most of these positions. Employers may be selecting men with this background because they feel that the position of principal requires an effective disciplinarian. Rosser (1980) states that the biggest barrier facing women is the assumption that discipline and authority are better handled by men. Rosser relates the experience of a woman candidate for an elementary principalship who had come up through the ranks of elementary education and was considered too "soft" for the top job:

> After ten years of teaching and five years of disciplining children as assistant principal, I felt I was the best qualified candidate for principal in my elementary school. I had good working relationships with the staff and an excellent administrative record. I understood the needs of the community. I was stunned when I lost out to a former math teacher and football coach with two years of administrative experience. The superintendent told me he felt I wasn't tough enough to handle the discipline problems in school (p. 32).

Women often work in special projects prior to attaining a principalship. As the EEOC data in Table 1 show, 55 percent of the consultants and supervisors of instruction in public schools in 1978 were held by women and 11 percent by minority women. Kanter (1977) describes how large corporations often place their token employees in "specialist" or "expert" positions prior to their entry into positions that are in the direct line of the administrative hierarchy. This placement provides an opportunity for those in power to observe the behavior of the employee and to determine whether or not the candidate is "safe" to include in the regular line of advancement. According to national findings, however, specialists and directorships are not significant entry positions.

The employment of more women as non-teaching assistant principals should help them in their quest for principals' positions. In the 2-year period, 1976 to 1978, EEOC data show that the percentage of women assistant principals increased from 18.3 percent to 22.2 percent (Table 1).

The decline in the importance of the elementary principalship as a step toward a secondary school principalship decreases women's opportunities for making this transition. Although women's representation has declined in both elementary and secondary school principalships, they still hold 18 percent of elementary principalships (Pharis and Zachariya, 1979). The decrease in emphasis on guidance also eliminates another route which women have used as a stepping stone to the principalship.

Women's Administrative Career Paths

The career paths of 88 percent of the respondents to Payne & Jackson's survey included teaching, a directorship of special projects, an assistant principalship and, finally, a principalship or central office post. Few longitudinal studies of women's career paths exist. One by Greenfield and Beam (1980) followed the career paths of 18 administrative candidates over 2-year intervals for a 6-year period. Two of the women candidates were succesful in attaining administrative level positions. Their career paths were as follows:

Woman #1	Woman # 2
College graduation - 1956	College graduation - 1954
Marriage shortly thereafter	11 years teaching - married during this period
Less than one year teaching	1 year leave to attain master's degree
6 years maternity leave	5 years elementary counselor
1 year teaching	1 1/2 years as multiple school coordinator of guidance - became candidate during this time after encouragement from co-workers
3 years maternity leave	1/2 year acting principal
2 years teaching	3 years principal
5 years guidance - became administrative candidate after encouragement from principal	
2 years assistant principal	

A recent study by Scott (1980) examine in-depth the work experiences of 7 black educators who were superintendents during the 1970s. The career path of the one woman superintendent is as follows:

1927 - date of birth
1944 - graduated high school
1945 - Northwestern University
1947 - substitute teacher
1950 - teachers' examination, regular assignment (Series of elementary school teaching assignments until a principal encouraged her to become an administrator)
1961 - principal's examination
1963 - elementary principal
1964 - secondary principal
1967 - 1969 - full-time graduate work
1970 - director of experimental school projects
1973 - high ranking officer in national association
1974 - superintendency

The importance of encouragement is evident in all three career sketches above and in research such as Gross and Task's (1975) study of national scope and Payne and Jackson's (1978) more limited research. However, prospective administrators are subject to many influences that are not reflected in career sketches like those above. Some of these career influences and their effects on individual's progress are discussed in the following sections.

Career paths begin with childhood experiences. MacDonald (1979) asserts that the female child is encouraged to be dependent and the male to be independent. Since a positive correlation exists between degree of independence and strength of self-concept, and between self-concept and achievement, women's achievement levels are limited in early childhood. MacDonald states that the curriculum, textbooks, policies, practices, vocabulary and teacher attitudes in elementary and secondary schools serve to reinforce the existing attitudes toward male and female roles.

Tibbetts (1979) supports this view. The poor representation of women in leadership positions is partly due to the educational system's promotion of occupational choices consistent with existing sex-typing of occupations. Tibbetts asserts that young students' continual observation of educational staffing patterns in which women are subordinate to men conditions them to accept these inequities in all occupations and to perceive their future career paths accordingly. Teacher attitudes, dress codes, assignment of chores, counseling practices, textbook content, segregation of classes, athletic programs (emphasis on the importance of boys' sports) and teacher-principal relationship all provide evidence of damaging sex-role stereotyping.

Stockard (1980) examines sex inequities in students' experiences. Her findings support MacDonald's and Tibbett's assertion that inequality based on sex in early education contributes to the limited number of women in administration and the differences between their career paths and those of their male counterparts.

The problems of sex typing in educational materials, sports and extracurricular activities and the effect of this stereotyping on the career paths of girls and women are also explored by Butler (1980). Butler asserts that this stereotyping in elementary and secondary schools provides the "critical filter" that restricts women's entry on to the administrative career path.

Lightfoot (1980) reports that educators often restrict the advancement of young black women because of erroneous perceptions that these women are torn between racial identification of career aspirations and sexual identity and career aspirations. Lightfoot asserts that the multiple sources of black women's identification serve to shape resourceful and strong rather than conflicted and divided personalities. Once these perceptions are reversed, educators would see that black women's socialization provides them with important leadership qualities.

Institutions of higher education often reinforce the limits placed on women's careers during their childhood. The National Center for Education Statistics (1979) reports that the status of women in higher education faculties has remained relatively unchanged over the past decade. Approximately 25 percent of college faculties are women, with the largest numbers in the lowest positions and in the less prestigious institutions. Women hold 51 percent of all instructors' positions but, as Table 6 shows, only 10 percent of all full professorships, 17 percent of associate professors' positions and 28 percent of assistant professorships. Howard (1978) compared women's status in academe in 1970 with their status in 1976 and found that although recruitment procedures had improved since affirmative action policies were instituted, women still hold only

Table 6

Numbers and Percentages of Full-Time Faculty in Selected Positions in Institutions of Higher Education by Sex and Ethnicity 1976

Subgroups	Total No.	Total (%)	Professors No.	Professors (%)	Associate Professors No.	Associate Professors (%)	Assistant Professors No.	Assistant Professors (%)
Women	109,818	(24.6)	9,372	(9.6)	16,805	(16.9)	34,198	(28.2)
Minority women	12,687	(2.8)	749	(0.8)	1,570	(1.6)	3,727	(3.1)
Black women	8,783	(2.0)	501	(0.5)	999	(1.0)	2,591	(2.1)
Asian women	1,889	(0.4)	128	(0.1)	271	(0.3)	590	(0.5)
Hispanic women	1,741	(0.4)	102	(0.1)	265	(0.3)	486	(0.4)
Native American women	274	(*)	18	(*)	35	(*)	60	(*)
Minority men	23,935	(5.4)	3,513	(4.3)	5,043	(5.1)	6,945	(5.7)
Black men	10,791	(2.4)	1,637	(1.7)	1,941	(1.9)	3,242	(2.7)
Asian men	7,798	(1.7)	1,087	(1.8)	2,042	(2.1)	2,203	(1.8)
Hispanic men	4,534	(1.0)	655	(0.7)	903	(0.9)	1,299	(1.1)
Native American men	812	(0.2)	134	(*)	157	(0.2)	201	(*)
Total full-time faculty	446,034		98,028		99,592		121,176	

* Less than 0.1 percent.

Note: Percentages may not add up to subgroup total percentages because of rounding errors. The total column includes all full-time positions.

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, Condition of Education, 1978 Edition, p. 194.

one-fourth of the faculty positions, were rarely found in top administrative posts (especially presidencies) and seldom held trusteeships. During the period 1973 to 1976 the percentage of women in tenured full-time college positions (16.5 percent) increased only 0.5 percent.

Fitzgerald (1979) asserts that the staffing configuration of college departments of education significantly contributes to women's disappearance from school administration. The UCEA National Directory, a publication of the University Council for Educational Administration, lists 73 women professors of educational administration in the United States. According to Schmuck (1980), the visibility of these professors is critical to women's advancement.

Kalvelage (1978) reports that this staff-student relationship began when separate training programs for teaching and administration became more prevalent during the 1920s. In all graduate programs, and especially in educational administration, the faculty and students were overwhelmingly male. Role models for aspiring women administrators existed only in state teachers colleges, which used to be called normal schools. This influence still appears to be prevalent. In Gross & Trask's (1976) study of elementary principals, one-half of the women principals responding had received their undergraduate education from normal schools.

Rosser (1980) discusses difficulties women have experienced in entering administrative programs. A woman who is now a superintendent of schools, applied to the Administrative Career Program at a leading university in the early 1970s, and was told that the program wanted "bright young men." She was accepted; however, after graduation, she found that the professors denied her the career guidance they provided male candidates.

According to Rosser, women who enter and complete administrative programs in large graduate schools often experience difficulty in obtaining assistance from faculty members. University professors and current administrators form numerous network systems ("the old boy network"). Professors are often asked for official and unofficial recommendations for administrative vacancies. Recommended candidates are often the professor's proteges. Sponsor-protege relationships depend on informal contacts. Male professors often feel uncomfortable about establishing this type of relationship with female students.

Irvine (1978) reports that universities restrict the career development of minority women. The absence of black and female administrators reinforces racial and sexual stereotypes that only white males are leaders and decision makers. Thus, the black woman seeking an administrative position has neither sex nor race in common with the existing administrators. Epstein (1973) terms this situation the "double whammy."

Reasons for Women's Absence from Administrative Ranks

Van Meir (1979) reviewed a number of studies and presents four reasons why women have not succeeded in becoming administrators. He notes that women are less motivated to attain leadership roles, less academically prepared to assume leadership roles, more transitory and more likely to interrupt careers to raise families than men are. A discussion of motivational factors relevant to women's aspirations were presented in the last chapter. The following sections discuss the remaining points raised by Van Meir.

Data on degrees awarded show that women are preparing themselves academically for leadership roles. Women traditionally have received a high percentage of undergraduate degrees in education: 72 percent of the total number awarded in all fields of education (Table 7). The percentage is almost as high at the master's degree level (66 percent), a 14 percent increase since 1971. Also, more than one-third of the doctor's degrees awarded in education (35 percent) were earned by women in 1977.

Table 7

Percentages of Education Degrees Awarded to Women
1971 to 1977

School Year Ending	Bachelor's	Master's	Doctor's
1971	74%	52%	21%
1973	74	58	25
1975	73	62	31
1977	72	66	35

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, The Condition of Education, 1979 Edition.

As Table 8 shows, of the advanced degrees conferred in education in 1977, minority women received 9.4 percent of the master's degrees and 5.2 percent of the doctorates. Minority men received lower proportions of masters (4.1), but a higher proportion of doctorates (7.4).

Table 8

Percentages of Master's and Doctor's Degrees in All Fields of Education Awarded to Women and to Minorities Grouped by Sex Within Race 1976 and 1977

Subgroups	Master's Degree		Doctor's Degree	
	1976	1977	1976	1977
Total Women	64.6%	66.2%	33.8%	35.2%
Total Minority Women	8.7%	9.4%	4.9%	5.2%
Black Women	7.0	7.4	3.8	3.9
Hispanic Women	1.1	1.3	0.7	0.7
Native American Women	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2
Asian Women	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.4
Total Minority Men	4.1%	4.1%	7.3%	7.4%
Black Men	2.9	2.9	5.2	5.1
Hispanic Men	0.8	0.8	1.2	1.5
Native American Men	.1	0.2	0.4	0.3
Asian Men	.2	0.3	0.5	0.6

Note: Percentages may not add up to subgroup total percentages because of rounding errors.

Source: National Center for Education Statistics. Data on Earned Degrees Conferred from Institutions of Higher Education by Race, Ethnicity and Sex. Unpublished data. 1978 data not collected.

While woman historically did not enroll in educational administration and supervision programs, NCES figures (Table 7) show this is no longer true. Degree counts for 1978 show that 39 percent of the master's and 25 percent of the doctor's degrees in educational administration were earned by women. In fact, in 1978 women received the majority of new master's degrees given in educational supervision. When the number of degrees awarded to women, especially in educational administration and supervision, is compared with the percentage of women in administration, the disparity indicates the extent to which women are underemployed (Clement, Di Bella, Eckstrom, Tobias, Bartol & Alban, 1977).

Table 9

Percentages of Degrees in Educational Administration and Supervision Awarded to Women 1976, 1977 and 1978

School Year Ending	Educational Administration		Educational Supervision	
	Master's	Doctor's	Master's[1]	Doctor's[1]
1976	29%	20%	58%	23%
1977	32	22	54	38
1978	39	25	55	38

[1] Percentages based on N's less than 100.

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, Data on Earned Degrees Conferred from Institutions of Higher Education by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, unpublished data.

A conflict of opinion exists concerning women's mobility. Van Meir feels that women are too mobile; he bases his argument on early studies indicating that administrators are often chosen from within the district where they teach, and that women move too often to establish themselves for consideration. These early studies indicate that this may have been the case (Taylor, 1966); however, the later studies described in the following paragraphs indicate that increased mobility may be an important factor in accelerated advancement.

The findings of a national survey of women school administrators (Collins, 1977) suggest that while women who stay in one school district have an opportunity to prove their talents on each rung of the career ladder, their advancement is usually slower than the woman who changes districts to accept a higher position. The woman who remains in a district may face less initial resentment than the woman administrator who is new to a district, but she may have to wait for a crisis before she is appointed to an administrative opening.

The results of Doughty's (1980) survey of black administrators indicate that black women educators are place-bound, living and working in middle to large urban school systems in the North. She suggests that the black women's limited mobility may be changing as they realize that mobility helps in climbing the administrative ladder.

Biklen (1980) states that career mobility is one of women's most important family-career conflicts. Some administrative career patterns require mobility, and many women feel their mobility is restricted by their family situations. However, this argument can also apply to men who may not always be free to change locations in order to advance their careers.

Career interruption for child birth and child care is a fact of life. Clement et al. (1977) state that career interruptions result in a bimodal age distribution of women educators, with peaks at under age 25 and at ages 55 to 59 years. Men also have career interruptions for business or the military; however, these breaks in career continuity are often seen as increasing their preparedness for management positions, whereas women's management of home and family is rarely considered in this light (Knezevich, 1971).

Much disagreement exists over the validity of the four points Van Meir cites as impeding women's entry into educational administration. He ignores external causes that affect women's declining numbers in administration. A scrutiny of institutional hiring and promotion procedures is needed for a balanced look at the problem.

Women as tokens in the hierarchy of education find it difficult to establish sponsor-protege relationships which are important in "getting ahead" in the educational system. Poll (1978) explains how these relationships work in New York City. Administrative candidates complete a specified number of graduate credits for credentials. Many vacancies, especially elementary school principalships, are filled by the local school board. Therefore, appointment to administrative positions requires a candidate's participation in political activities. A candidate must develop a network of ties with parent association leaders, local politicians, union officials, school board members and central board officials.

Based on her observation of schools, administrators at work, meetings, informal gatherings and her interviews with 350 administrators from California, Texas and Arizona, Ortiz (1980) writes about the difficulties women and minorities have experienced in obtaining sponsorship. She believes the result is three primary occupational structures in education: women teachers, men administrators, and minorities in disciplinary positions. The allocation of positions is generally based on stereotyped notions about which sex and/or race is appropriate for which position.

Valverde (1980) interviewed 6 veteran principals who had successfully sponsored about 100 candidates from teaching positions to vice-principalships. One of the 6 principals was a minority and one was

a female. Based on these interviews, Valverde describes how the informal process of promotion socialization in education works to exclude women and minorities.

Sponsors, the majority of whom are white males, seek potential proteges with professional abilities and personal charactertistics like their own. Because women look different from men, male sponsors often perceive them on a subconscious level as having personal or professional defects which eliminate them from consideration. The minority woman often may be excluded on the basis of both race and sex. Unless an organization consciously tries to bring women and minorities into the system, their chances of receiving sponsorship are slim.

Peer recognition and support are prerequisites for sponsorship. A sponsor hesitates to select a candidate who is not approved by the sponsor's peers and the candidate's peers. Without this approval, the candidate has only a limited chance of success, and a sponsor wants the additional prestige brought by a successful protege. If a sponsor is interested in a particular applicant's merit, but does not fully trust that person's chances of success, that candidate is often subjected to a series of "loyalty" and other tests to determine if he or she will eventually "fit in" with the group (Valverde, 1980). The candidate undergoing these tests is often placed in a powerless position or in a "specialist" position (i.e., women's issues, minority issues, personnel) until the sponsor group determines whether or not the candidate is "safe" for a power position in the direct path to the top (Kanter, 1977).

The restricted number of female role models and sponsors limit women's participation in the critical informal process. Tibetts (1979) asserts that a sponsor assists in the creation of competence through on-the-job training which includes opportunities to learn techniques and receive help in avoiding pitfalls. This on-the-job training is given only when important "gate-keepers" decide that person has talent and will continue to perform well. Since women do not fit the image of competence which men are perceived to possess, it is often difficult for women to acquire the necessary training for competence in an informal professional setting through the sponsorship of an older and more experienced partner. Kanter (1977) observed the possible adverse effect that excluding women from this necessary informal process may have on women's careers:

> People without sponsors, without peer connections, or without promising subordinates remain in the situation of bureaucratic dependency on formal procedures, routine allocation of rewards, communication that flows through a multi-layered chain of command, and decisions that must penetrate complex systems of veto power.

The "old boy network" is a major deterrent to women seeking advancement. The structure of the "good old boy" sponsorship system excludes women from promotions on the basis of their deviation from

white male norms rather than on the basis of their competency. This subjective process accounts for the fact that from a large pool of women teachers, proportionately few move up the career ladder into administration. Despite competency, even competency accompanied by visibility and declared aspirations, the dynamics of the sponsor group impede or block success.

Rosser reports that the "old boy network" restricts women from administrative jobs in many almost imperceptible ways. One example is the way job vacancies may be informally advertised. Male principals, central office personnel, powerful department heads or even visiting book salesmen pass the word among themselves before job notices are posted. Those notified prior to posting begin announcing their aspirations through the informal network. The director of the Project on Equal Education Rights (PEER) for the National Organization for Women Legal Defense and Education Fund describes this process as back-room discrimination.... It takes real digging to prove. Change will be difficult until there are more women in middle-management positions."

Summary

As Kanter (1977) found in her study of organizational hiring and promotion processes, the problems women face along their career paths are a result of their low proportion of representation within the educational administrative hierarchy. Because women are not visible in great numbers in administration, when they are present the majority feels uncomfortable and tends to exclude them. To improve the situation, the number of women in administration needs to be raised so that their presence is neither threatening nor a curiosity. This improvement will require an awareness of both subtle and direct obstacles in women's career paths in conjunction with deliberate efforts by educational institutions to remove these deterrents and to establish an equitable balance of women and men leaders.

Women in Administration and the Principalship

Women are often denied jobs in educational administration on the basis of the employers' preconceptions of their ability. Women are told that they are not physically or emotionally strong enough to maintain order among unruly students. Women applicants are also told that the community is not ready for a woman administrator or that teachers do not want to work for women.

The incongruity between these explanations and the generally positive responses to women principals reported in surveys of supervisors, subordinates, students and communities supports Kanter's theory of the dynamics of tokenism. As Kanter observed, tokens are often judged on the basis of distorted stereotypes rather than upon actual performance. Evaluations of women in administration are based upon general misconceptions of the nature of women, not upon the individual's ability to carry out administrative tasks. The explanations also reveal that women are denied positions due to the employers' fear of possible relationship problems rather than on the employers' assessment of the applicants' administrative competence.

In order to better understand how these misconceptions continue to impede women's employment as principals despite the positive evaluations of those with whom and for whom they work, this chapter presents a general picture of the demands of the principalship, a summary of survey evaluations of women principals, a possible explanation for difficulties women (or any tokens) may encounter in principalships, and some suggestions designed to bring employers' perceptions of women applicants more in line with women's real ability.

Demands of the Principalship

Principals have daily responsibilities for a multitude of tasks and are in constant demand by staff members and constituents. The extent of principals' responsibilities is seen in any typical job description for a principalship. Their hectic daily schedule is documented by Weldy (1979) in a minute-by-minute account of the tasks in one principal's day described as a fairly typical day. Bryne et al. (1978) reported that a secondary school principal's typical work week was 56 hours long with the following activities, listed in order to frequency: (1) school management, (2) personnel supervision, (3) student activities, (4) student behavior, (5) program development, (6) district office, (7) planning, (8) community activities and (9) professional development.

Surveys have shown that women can cope with the demands and pressures of the principalship. This is documented by Fishel and Pottker (1975) who reviewed behavioral and attitudinal studies of women principals' performance based on measures of student performance and participation in school activities, teacher morale, and parent and community involvement.

Perceptions of Women as School Administrators

Studies conducted from 1956 to 1978 in different regions in which women principals were rated by supervisors and subordinates support Fishel and Pottker's conclusion that most people consider women's performance in the administrative field equal to or, in some cases, better than that of their male counterparts.*

Women principals' relationships with teachers, students and the community seem to be quite good according to a number of regional studies surveying teachers views of principals (see Note below). These reports indicate that women teachers tend to have favorable attitudes toward women supervisors and, although men who have not worked for women prefer working under male supervisors, those who have worked for women are generally favorable in their estimation of women supervisors.

When Fisher (1980) surveyed 359 Michigan teachers, she received the following responses to questions concerning perceptions of women in administration:

- When asked if women in management positions would downgrade the teaching profession, 96 percent of the women and 90 percent of the men said no.
- Of those teachers responding, 58 percent of the men and 34 percent of the women said they would be more comfortable working for a man.
- A higher percentage of women than men (62 percent to 46 percent) thought that students who observe women in leadership positions are more likely to develop aspirations or values that move beyond traditional stereotypes.

These comments may indicate that although men tend to believe that women can perform competently as administrators, they would not feel comfortable working for a woman. Kanter explains this response in terms of the distribution of power in organizations. Power in this case means the ability to make policy decisions and to mobilize resources to enact those decisions. People want to work for a boss

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* Note: See the bibliography for these studies: April, 1975; Barter, 1959; Cobbley, 1970; Davenport, 1976; Grobman & Hines, 1956; Gross & Trask, 1976; Hemphill, Griffiths, & Fredricksen, 1962; Henschel, 1965; Hinkle, 1979; Hoyle, 1969; Linton, 1974; Longstreth, 1973; Owens, 1975; Smith, J.A., 1977; Van Meir, 1973. See these same studies also for specific ratings of women principals in their relationships with teachers (Fishel and Pottker, 1975).

who has power. Because of the current representation in management positions, that boss is usually a man. Therefore, people say they prefer male bosses.

Another interesting finding in Fisher's study is the difference between men's and women's perception of the importance of role models. Men may not be aware of the importance of role models in their development because male role models are a given in educational administration. Women, on the other hand, must search to find female role models to aid their career socialization.

AASA's survey (1979) to determine how the attitudes of those hiring school district administrators could be affecting opportunities for women in the field of educational leadership showed that male and female superintendents and board presidents generally agreed that women could successfully handle the responsibilities of school district administrators. Two questionnaires were used in this survey. The first is concerned with attitudes toward women's ability to serve at all levels of school district administration; the second is the "SRA Opinion Survey for Men and Women" on work habits and attitudes. The former was sent to 2,095 superintendents and 2,095 school board presidents/chairpersons, the latter to a sample of 200 superintendents and 200 school board presidents. Responses were received from 82 percent of the superintendents (3 percent women and 2 percent minority), and 18 percent of the board presidents/chairpersons (25 percent women and 3 percent minority). The highest regional responses came from the Great Lakes, the Plains, and the mid-East; the lowest from New England and the Rocky Mountains.

All four groups (male and female superintendents and male and female presidents/chairpersons) indicated they would not consider stereotyped attitudes about women as valid barriers to employment. However, some individuals in each group felt that negative preconceptions have considerable meaning when employing women full-time. Some interesting differences in responses did occur.

Women respondents in the AASA survey strongly agreed that negative feelings about women's emotional stability and speculation over menstruation problems and possible pregnancies should not influence the employment of women administrators. They agreed almost unanimously that to be a successful school administrator, a woman must sacrifice some of her femininity, although how this would be done is not clear. More than half of the men respondents agreed that women could possess the self-confidence necessary for leadership. While a majority of these male superintendents and board presidents felt that menstruation should not affect hiring a woman as a school administrator, they were less inclined to overlook her possible emotional instability and personal conflict between an administrative career and possible pregnancy and children. Attitudes on these central issues may be difficult to change; however, if sufficient numbers of women are in administration, as a group they can dispel incorrect preconceptions.

Difficulties Women Encounter as Administrators

Minority women administrators responding to Payne and Jacksons's survey report that they get their highest level of support from their subordinates. The majority of these respondents noted that despite their average 45 to 49 hour work week they were satisfied with their current positions (72 percent), although 58 percent indicated that they were not given adequate recognition for their leadership abilities. Women administrators felt that their major source of satisfaction was the support they received from teachers as opposed to fellow administrators, superiors and board members. Most of the administrators are involved in elementary education; 70 percent interact more with women in subordinate positions than with men.

Doughty (1980) suggests that this high level of subordinate support may not always exist. When a minority woman is the "first," some colleagues, subordinates or superordinates will respond negatively to reporting to and taking orders from a minority woman boss. Doughty relates the experience of a "first" black woman assistant principal in a large urban high school. Her primary responsibilities included staff and curriculum development:

> She found that the opposition to the programs were not due to their content, but to the inability of some teachers to have a black woman "telling them what to do." These teachers, mostly male, did not take orders from their wives and additionally were unaccustomed to black leadership (p. 170).

The difference between the high level of support received by respondents to Payne and Jackson's survey and the resistance Doughty's interviewees encountered may be explained in light of Kanter's findings concerning leadership behavior during her study of large corporations (1977). Leadership behavior and the perceptions of others in response to that behavior must be considered in terms of proportional representation and the attitudes and expectations participants bring to the situation.

Lockheed's (1976) study of how male and female high school student leaders reacted in different group settings might help to explain Kanter's theory that gender and/or race representation in an organization influence an individual's participation. The study investigated how the effect of a female's status in a mixed gender group of decision makers modified her leadership behavior. Lockheed discovered that when women were initially exposed to a task as a homogenous group, they would develop their own group dynamics including the establishment of group leaders. When this group was integrated into a group of males who had previously been exposed to the task, the young women maintained their leadership positions and continued to actively participate in decision making. However, when a mixed gender group was initially exposed to a task, young men often established themselves as the leaders and the input from the same young

women who had assured leadership roles in the all girls group was often not forthcoming or ignored. These findings suggest that a woman leading a majority of women would be respected for her leadership abilities; whereas, a woman in a group of mostly men might regress to the expected passive female role or may find her suggestions ignored.

These preconceptions and the behaviors associated with them apply to members of both sexes and are often subtle and unconscious. Ortiz (1980) reports that a minority woman principal had established a good working relationship with her subordinants, a majority of whom were women. She characterized her staff as highly competent and independent. They had a good record of formulating creative, effective solutions to problems on their own. The principal went on extended leave and was replaced by a man. Within a few weeks the school decision-making pattern changed radically. The man reported to the woman principal that only a short time after he entered the office the teachers began consulting him about every problem that arose and could not seem to make even the simplest decisions on their own.

As long as so few women are in administration these preconceptions and behaviors will continue. A greater number of women would shift the attention of those observing women principals' behavior from evaluators' current concentration on their "femaleness" to a more relevant consideration of their job performance.

To accurately assess a principal's leadership behavior, the researcher should consider the sex and racial distribution of students, teachers, school boards and principals in the district. As a result of her observations, Kanter suggests that if equality of power, opportunity and representation existed and the basic structure of educational institutions remained the same, women and men would all display various leadership styles depending on the dynamics of the situation.

Suggestions for Improving Perceptions of Women as Educational Leaders

Kanter & Stein (1980) describe some of the problems tokens face when they move into management positions in organizations. They use the symbols of O for tokens and X for the majority. The percentage of women in educational administration clearly establishes them as tokens in this field. Therefore, Kanter & Stein's dynamics of tokenism may be applied to the difficulties women have with perceptions of their competence.

- Xs give Os extra attention. Because of O's uniqueness, it becomes a distraction. The O is stared at — it's a novelty. People will remember more about the O than about any of the Xs.

- O will be the subject of more gossip; more stories and rumors will circulate about O than about anyone else.

- O is always in the spotlight, always subject to public scrutiny. Os cannot hide their mistakes as easily as Xs can; people make sure the O knows it. "You are our test O. If you do well, we might get more Os. We've never had anyone like you before, we're dying to know how it will work out."

- As a result, the O may feel it's walking a tightrope. Even the smallest mistake could be fatal. The O's greater visibility is not the kind that brings power and advancement, because what is noticed is not the O's competence but whatever it is that makes O different than X. Sometimes people do not hear a word O says, they are too busy staring at it

- Os often have to live up to two different often conflicting standards: the standards of their profession and the Xs' expectations of what a "good O" should be.

- O also performs the functions of spokes O. That is, as a token representative of all Os, the O often speaks for all Os. The O might be sent to public events as a show O or asked during meetings, "What do you Os think?" The O will be asked to join committees or to speak at programs devoted entirely to the problems of Os.

- These demands may result in overload for the O. Then the Xs wonder why Os cannot handle job demands. (pp. 58-59)

Kanter & Stein (1980) suggest some methods tokens can use to deal with stereotyped misconceptions about women administrators and some ways employers can more accurately assess women's capabilities. Token representatives can manage their jobs and avoid exhaustion if they can do the following:

- Recognize the pressures; find ways to relax and get away.

- Avoid unreasonable blame for difficulties; recognize the situation as a source of pressure.

- Talk with other token representatives; share tactics and support.

- Develop the skills required to succeed; competence is the bottom line.

- Learn to publicize skills and competencies rather than differences.

- Make it clear that business is the primary concern.
- Search out opportunities to demonstrate competence.
- Talk with those in power; use them as learning resources; treat them as experts. This will motivate them to help.
- Offer resources or help to those in power.
- Develop diplomatic skills for handling and/or confronting awkward interactions.
- Avoid making an issue of every insult or tease; learn to ignore them or develop a good sense of humor.
- Seek opportunities to join in the networks of those in power so that these networks can serve everyone.
- Develop individual relationships with those in power rather than always facing them as a group.
- Emphasize what tokens have in common with those in power rather than what makes them different.
- Avoid overload from too much service as a representative; preserve energy for hard work at the job. (p. 61)

Kanter & Stein (1980) also provide suggestions for employers to make organizations safe for all employees:

- Increase awareness of what it means to be both a token and a member of the majority; learn about relationships between the two.
- Scrutinize one's own behavior toward tokens:
  - — Are jobs and assignments typed as suitable for only certain people?
  - — Do only certain people have opportunities for visibility?
  - — Who gets training opportunities?
  - — Are there things you discuss with only certain people? Are these things critical to success?
  - — Who receives how much of what types of attention (e.g., support, scrutiny, performance appraisal, advice)?
  - — Who gets the important jobs?
- Provide opportunities for tokens to work together as well as with majority individuals, but do not force them to work together.
- Confront areas of discomfort to all employees.

- Consider the resources, skills and information that people need to succeed and make sure that everyone has equal access to these things.
- Help tokens to get into the majority network.
- Pair tokens with experienced majority individuals so that they can learn appropriate behavior and tricks of the trade.
- Avoid stereotypes.
- Avoid overprotecting or overtesting tokens; give them a fair chance to meet challenges. (p. 61)

Many individuals and organizations concerned with increasing the presence of minority women in educational administration and with improving their working conditions believe that special training programs are essential for changing stereotyped misconceptions about women's role in general, and women's educational leadership role in particular. The next chapter of this review examines some training programs designed to aid the achievement of sex equity in educational administration.

Training Programs For Women Administrators

Lyman and Speizer (1980) describe how the decline in the number of women in educational administration has brought about a circular socialization: women are often perceived by employers as unsuited for administration; therefore, women are not hired. Consequently, little opportunity exists to change the perception. Special training programs can intervene and change the direction of this cycle; however, they should not be viewed as a prerequisite for women's entry into administration. Some training programs are designed to raise awareness among the primarily male employers; others are concerned with training men and women aspirants, while others are for women only. Kimmel, Harlow, and Topping (1979) claim that programs for women only are currently necessary to counteract discrimination, self-doubt and the absence of role models.

The Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA) of 1974 was designed to provide support for positive efforts to obtain sex equity in education. Several programs designed to expand and improve opportunities for women in educational administration receive all or partial funding from grants based on this Act (Women's Educational Equity Act, 1979). Other sources of funding for training include foundation grants and grants from educational organizations. Some training programs are the result of cooperation among school districts, universities, state governments, and local governments.

Adkison (1980) looks at ways in which training programs can be more effective in increasing the representation of women in administration. She feels that although programs that were designed to overcome the effects of women's early socialization have been successful, focusing only on changing the individual who aspires to be an administrator ignores the effects of organizational employment patterns. Attitudes and perceptions that influence organizational behavior must also be modified. Adkison suggests that planners of equity in education programs should consider the informal process of sponsorship and socialization that excludes women from managerial roles. Federal and foundation programs are increasingly supporting the development of change strategies incorporating these ideas. Adkison provides details on one such project.

Project ICES (Internship, Certification, Equity Leadership and Support), University of Kansas and Kansas State Department of Education (funded by WEEAP, 1977-79). This project used the resources of a state education agency, a state professional administrator's organization and a university to enlarge the pool of credentialed, available women administrators, develop a preparatory training and experience program and aid participants in finding jobs. The model contains components directed toward both individual and organizational change. The field test in Kansas shows it to be effective (Adkison, 1980).

The school systems in Kansas nominated persons to serve on the project; 13 interns were involved. Training included course work, a school district internship and 20 weeks of intensive workshop participation. Since the training ended in August 1979, 9 of the 13 original interns got administrative positions with potential advancement, three received no administrative job offers, and one decided to return to her counseling career after a semester's trial in an administrative post.

The project designers considered the fact that school administrators' and board members' objections to hiring women are generally based on sex-role stereotypes that depict women as ineffective and unpopular administrators. It was essential that interns be perceived as competent administrators. To avoid having interns simply observe or do busy work, the project staff required districts to establish the internships as formal administrative positions with specific responsibilities and access to the resources necessary to carry out those responsibilities.

The program also provided interns with a broader range of experience and visibility than is normally available to new administrators. Interns worked in more than one setting and with administrators at all levels. They also served on committees with a variety of individuals from their districts and administrators from other districts as well.

A support component was essential for these interns who were tokens in the districts they entered. Local and professional support groups minimize the unpleasant effects associated with underrepresentation. The interns themselves formed one important group. They attended workshops and classes together and formed personal and professional associations. They provided each other with information about consultants, conferences, resources and job openings in addition to positive reinforcement and emotional support.

Each intern was encouraged to become part of an administrators' informal organization within her district. This group would meet with her regularly to provide expertise and access to other important contacts in the district and the community. They also discussed the interns' work and provided assistance in solving problems.

Research on the effects of the program found that administrators advise and guide interns without some of the uncomfortable feelings often associated with protege-mentor relationships between a man and a woman. At the same time, the internships allow women to disprove the stereotypes often held by students, teachers, parents and administrators.

Adkison asserts that the results of the ICES program indicate that plans for increasing women's participation in leadership roles must consider the existing social structure through which organizations identify, recruit and socialize future leaders. Such programs,

in addition to increasing the number of women in administration, contribute to their effectiveness as administrators and establish their role in critical, informal social and professional groups, often referred to as networks.

Terry Saario, program officer in the Division of Education and Public Policy at the Ford Foundation states that the foundation's experience with programs designed for women supports Adkison's view.

> We provided grants for women getting credentials in university training programs. We financed a computerized roster of women qualified for administrative jobs. No one used it. Then we realized we'd have to convince the employer. We went to the American Association of School Administrators (AASA), one of the most prestigious "old boy clubs," and gave them a grant to set up a training workshop for women interested in becoming superintendents. It has been incredibly successful.... Sponsorship by the AASA is like giving these women the Goodhousekeeping Seal of Approval (Rosser, 1980, p. 32).

The Director of the AASA/Ford foundation 3-day workshops for women reports that the program has been successful (Effie Jones in Rosser, 1980). The women are competent and the program provides them with essential strategies for upward mobility within the informal system. The Ford project also provides support teams for new superintendents. Specialists in curriculum, business management and personnel visit new administrators' schools during the year and provide invaluable feedback and technical assistance.

Other programs designed to increase the number of women in educational administration are described below. An overview of these efforts appears in a summary at the end of this chapter.

Institute for Women in Educational Administration, Simmons College, Summer, 1977, 1978. These intensive summer institutes, described by Lyman and Speizer (1980), focused on providing organizational knowledge and skills necessary for job advancement and on increasing personal understanding necessary to progress as women administrators. Participants explored the effects of socialization with its emphasis on home and family rather than on professions and careers, and they examined institutional hiring and training patterns which discourage women's progress.

The curriculum emphasized career planning, analysis of institutions' organizational climate in order to obtain necessary information and support, and technical topics. Part of the technical discussions were concerned with alleviating fears about asking questions in areas in which participants were not experts and raising awareness that on-the-job training is an acceptable and expected method for gaining special knowledge.

The institutes' formats encouraged interaction among participants which developed their skill in working with other women in professional situations. Participants were also encouraged to develop a support relationship to provide feedback and job information and to combat the feeling of isolation women administrators often experience.

Faculty members were selected from among men and women in management, business and education in the New England area. The women had attained powerful positions and were willing to act as role models and aids to other women desiring advancement. The male faculty shared their knowledge of ways to advance in the "old boy network."

In 1979, a follow-up survey was conducted 18 months after the first institute and 6 months after the second institute. Lyman and Speizer report the responses of 31 of the 32 New England area administrators and teachers who had attended the first institute. Of these 31 participants, 13 (42 percent) reported job changes: 4 had changed to positions of equivalent or increased responsibilities; 4 had added responsibilities to their positions; 2 had moved from temporary to permanent positions; and 2 had returned to school for advanced degrees. As a result of declining enrollment, one participant had changed from an administrative to a teaching position.

All of the 23 participants who had attended the second institute six months earlier replied to the survey. Of these 23 participants, four (17 percent) reported job changes: 3 had moved to positions of increased responsibility and status and 1 had added administrative responsibilities to her position. After attending the institutes, participants generally became more active in educational organizations and maintained the informal support relationships established during the sessions.

Lyman and Speizer plan to do additional follow-up studies charting participants' career paths with attention to participants' birth order, childbearing status and interaction between age and training. They also intend to explore the effectiveness of the participants' established support groups.

San Diego/Carnegie Minority and Women Administrators Training Project, 1975, San Diego State University. This project, described by Merino (1978), was designed to increase the pool of minority and women administrators. The project was modeled on a similar one sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation in the 1960s that prepared Chicanos in Texas for administrative positions in rural and semirural multicultural school districts. In the earlier project, school districts trained administrators through an intensive internship program. All but one of the 18 participants were placed in administrative positions. The planners of the San Diego project felt that this level of success demonstrated the value of an approach that reinforced the importance of ethnic and cultural diversity while emphasizing academic professional preparation. They felt the strength of the program was the combination of formal instruction with on-the-job assignments.

The plan was proposed to all San Diego school districts, and 9 chose to participate in the program. These districts nominated 50 candidates. Of those 50, 18 (14 of whom were women) were chosen for internships by the districts and the university.

The goal of the program was to develop a full-time graduate program leading to a Master of Arts Degree in Education in Administration and Supervision and California credentials. The program focused on the emerging multicultural emphasis in California schools. It maintained a balance of coursework, administrative job experience and adequate job placement and follow-up support services. Special seminars conducted by the principals of the participating school districts were concerned with the daily operation of schools.

Both university professors and specialists from the school districts served as instructors. The curriculum included problems faced by the students during their on-the-job activities.

The program was concerned with developing six major areas of competency:

- Improvement of educational programs. This included comprehension of movement and trends in curriculum, new developments in teaching procedures, content in subject areas, organizational patterns in schools, and attitudes, skills and techniques for effecting change. Techniques for employing social, political and economic forces for change were also included.

- Development of personnel management. This included personnel selection, supervision and evaluation, employer-employee relations and handling personnel problems.

- Administrative leadership. This included understanding human motivation, group dynamics, oral and written communication, development of policy positions, conflict resolution and handling of controversial issues.

- School-community relations. This included interaction with organized groups, using contributions from various sectors, and maintenance of effective relations with diverse ethnic groups, the press and political agencies.

- Legal questions pertaining to public school administration.

- Basic skills of public school management: planning, implementation, research and development and program budgeting.

The program's sponsors feel their goals were largely realized. Of the 18 interns, 15 attained managerial positions: 2 as principals, 6 as vice principals and 7 as project coordinators.

Project FLAME (Female Leaders for Administration and Management in Education), Federation of North Texas Area Universities (East Texas State University, North Texas State University and Texas Woman's University). Kimmel, Harlow and Topping (1979) report that this ongoing program funded by the Women's Educational Equity Act Program (WEEAP) was designed to increase opportunities for women in educational administration.

The participants were chosen competitively from full-time graduate students enrolled in one of the Federation universities. The curriculum consists of regular doctoral coursework, an additional internship, courses to promote self-awareness and understanding and three field experiences in noneducational environments to observe different managerial styles. Participants frequently meet in group sessions, and they may attend conferences and workshops together. Family members are included in several activities.

Women in School Administration (WISA). Kimmel, Harlow and Topping (1979) describe this program sponsored by the Montana School Board Association and the WEEAP. The program goals include training school board members and superintendents to examine sex role stereotyping and sex bias, providing technical assistance for those revising school policies to conform with equal employment opportunity regulations, identifying and encouraging women with leadership skill to enter administration and developing a graduate training model in school administration for women. The University of Montana will offer the necessary academic courses but program emphasis will be on internships.

Women and Administration Institute (WAI), University of South Florida. This program, described by Kimmel, Harlow and Topping, was designed to help alleviate the shortage of women administrators in education. Participants explored leadership roles while studying organizational behavior and sex-role socialization. The program was intended to increase the number of candidates and to assure that graduates would be positive agents for the elimination of sex stereotyping in schools.

Each year from 1975 through 1979, participants lived on campus for three weeks where they spent 18 hours a day in academic activities including studying, observing, role playing and analyzing their potential for leadership. They completed 15 standardized and nonstandardized instruments.

Kimmel, Harlow and Topping write that career aspiration may be considered a main dependent variable of WAI. Participants' speculations on their career situation before and after attending WAI indicate that their attendance encouraged the women to think of themselves as capable of advancing in administrative careers. All groups had higher posttest than pretest scores on the Attitudes Toward Women Scale. The 1976 and 1977 groups completed job satisfaction tests. Results showed less job satisfaction upon completion of WAI than at the outset. Kimmel, Harlow and Topping feel that this is perhaps a "desirable cost" of the participants broadened reference base. "Movement up implies movement away as well" (p. 588).

A follow-up survey indicates that participants were able to define goals more clearly and precisely, that all were progressing educationally or vocationally, and that they all maintained positive attitudes toward themselves and others.

Project DELTA (Design for Equity: Leadership Training Attitudes, Wichita State University, Kansas. Funded by WEEAP, this 2-year project (1976-1978) was designed to develop a model for enhancing the entry of women into administrative leadership positions and to assure their continued mobility (Kimmel, Harlow and Topping, 1979). Workshops and seminars were attended by men and women faculty members, administrators and support personnel. Areas of concentration included leadership strategies, communication and leadership styles of men and women, decision-making strategies, leadership opportunities, career planning, organizational systems, use of power, changing roles of men, and social and institutional obstacles.

Self-assessment instruments were designed to test sex bias in roles and language. A leadership manual "Design for Equity," which includes articles on individual and institutional issues, is also being produced. This literature is expected to be published by the end of 1980.

Career Women in Education. Timpano and Knight (1976) designed a program to increase the number of women administrators on Long Island; however, their design may be applied to any school district. They offer an organizational plan and strategies for implementation. Their program includes suggestions for employers and aspirants as well. The plan also includes state, local and individual models and action plans.

Career Mobility for Women in Education Administration. The WEEA Fourth Annual Report (1979) describes this program at Auburn University designed to develop five training modules and a monograph which can be used to develop women's leadership potential. One of the program's areas of concentration will be strategies for upward mobility in administration.

Management Training Workshop for Rural Women. This Anchorage, Alaska, program is designed to develop six management training packages. Participants in the skill based workshop may receive credit from Anchorage Community College. The program will be conducted in conjunction with state agencies and commissions. Special effort will be made to recruit rural, Eskimo, and Indian women participants (WEEA, 1979).

Mid-Career Women with Administrative and Managerial Responsibilities, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa. This program is designed to expand and improve educational programs and activities for mid-career women with administrative and managerial responsibilities. The project will produce analyzed data on mid-career development, the psychology of women, work effectiveness and organizational barriers. (WEEA, 1979).

Summary

Many training programs are short-term, intensive projects designed to quickly increase the number of women candidates in the administrator pool. Others are long-term programs intended for integration into universities' standard curriculum. Still others are intended to serve as model programs which will be used to develop standardized courses applicable to a broad range of school districts. Although several of the short-term projects are completed, in many cases follow-up literature is not yet available. Where follow-up information is available, programs seem to be generally effective in increasing the pool of women administrators in education. Lyman and Speizer (1980) note that longitudinal studies of the career paths of attendees will give better indication of the success of such programs and of the informal support groups which often result from them.

Strategies to Promote Women's Administrative Careers

Because career paths begin in early childhood and are directed throughout the child's educational experience and personal growth and development, many researchers offer change strategies which start with the potential principal's first experiences in the educational system. Examples of programs and recommended actions proposed by researchers to improve women's access to principalships and upper level administrative positions are described in this section.

Fisher (1980, pp. 16-19) recommends the following:

1. A crash program should be organized by present educational administrators and other interested individuals to educate, motivate, encourage, and recruit women teachers to compete for administrative positions in education.

2. The program should promote a massive increase in internships for women at all administrative levels.

3. Current administrators should organize efforts to promote women teachers' visibility.

4. Every feasible device should be enlisted to motivate women to support each other.

5. Teacher pressure groups should strive to force school boards, school districts, and other education control centers to develop and enforce effective action programs to recruit and appoint female education administrators.

6. Pressure groups should use political and other influence to force colleges and universities to promote strong campaigns to attract women to take programs at both the graduate and undergraduate levels in educational administration.

Fisher adds to these recommendations that administrative course work specifically designed for the woman administrator should be developed. This work should provide insight into the formal and informal communications network, preparations for the financial and other aspects of administration and in-service workshop programs for women administrators and candidates. Federal and state grants should be obtained to train and place women in administrative positions through the state educational systems.

Because career paths begin in early childhood and are directed throughout the child's educational experience and personal growth and development, many researchers offer change strategies which start with the potential principal's first experiences in the educational system.

Johnson describes how elementary and high school counselors can play a major role in change strategies:

- Provide sex-fair occupational counseling.
- Use curriculum observation, consultation on curriculum development and awareness groups to provide teachers with helpful feedback on sex-role stereotyping in the classroom. Integration of the current, appropriate career development material into the curriculum can be encouraged.
- Conduct awareness groups for parents, teachers, students and administrators to raise the participant's consciousness of subtle sex biases.
- Strive to be good role models themselves, making nontraditional role models available to students whenever possible.
- Help students in nontraditional majors in higher education to deal with feelings of isolation. Programs can be developed to bring community role models and students together.

Smith and Edson developed a set of exercises for each chapter in Sex Equity in Education for use in the classroom (Stockard, Schmuck, Kempner, Williams, Edson, Smith, 1980). The exercises raise the students' consciousness of individual and organizational sex-typing.

Schmuck (1980) offers some strategies for change at the local school level. These were developed from the Sex Equity in Educational Leadership (SEEL) project at the University of Oregon:

- School districts are responsible for advice. Women curently in administrative positions must be visible and accessible to other women. They must make formal and explicit the kinds of training to women that men often experience informally.
- SEEL participants found that direct efforts to attack negative stereotypes were unsuccessful. Outsiders have no legitimate power to influence attitudes. Women within the system can exert pressure for change on their own behalf. Women administrators and teachers hold potential influence with colleagues who hold negative views about women's capabilities.

- Organizational strength at the local, state, and national level is a necessary political strategy to counteract the barriers women face.

- Male allies should be included in work. To surpass distinctions on the basis of sex, organizations cannot discriminate within their own strategies. Women, by virtue of their inferior status in society, are often ignored; a male in a position of influence is an important ally in the political process.

- Getting hired is the most important test of all strategies. The Oregon Network documented all administrative vacancies and changes in K-12 schools for one year. They recorded the number, the applicants and the results of the selection process. These researchers collected data on all applicants and where they were eliminated from the screening process. This network makes open and inclusive the recruitment and selection process which is traditionally closed and exclusive. This strategy contains a potential indirect effect. When researchers observe the process, school districts may feel obligated to search for and hire women. (Strategy of observing hiring practices at the local level agrees with NASSP's recommendations as presented in Byrne et al., 1978.)

Clement emphasizes the components of a systematic effort to eliminate barriers deterring women from promotions:

- Base counseling services on current, nonsexist information and material. Counselors should be trained to encourage women toward administrative and managerial careers.

- Require more mentorship experiences. Support systems providing professional visibility, job contacts and increased competence should be established.

- Introduce training and support services for aspiring women administrators.

- Make careful, deliberate and persistent efforts to assure compliance with all statutes that apply to hiring and promotion practices.

Effie Jones stresses the importance of women presenting themselves as competent individuals. As director of an AASA/Ford Foundation program of workshops for mid-level women, she maintains that a competent woman, with professional visibility and influential sponsor, can move through the system (Rosser, 1980).

> Presenting yourself as competent is essential. This means you should know what kinds of information the "old boys network"

looks for on resumes, how to handle stress questions, and how to evaluate a school system and a community. Professional visibility is tough for women. We're so afraid of narcissism that we don't know how to let people know what we do well. I encourage women to seek press coverage of school events, to invite influential people to visit their schools, and to be active in professional organizations (pp. 33-34).

Gordon and Ball (1979) state that programs to improve women's position in administration must start with female mentors. They feel that it is the responsibility of women currently on college and university campuses to assume this role and to see that opportunities for women are fair, open and equitable. Women in administration can no longer simply decry the lack of female colleagues. Women are naive if they think they can make changes in career organizations without a base of support and power, and insights and defenses to deal with arguments and stereotypes which seek to alienate women from one another.

MacConkey (1979) feels that when women concentrate time and effort on organizing women's groups and networks, they are isolating themselves from the mainstream of opportunities. MacConkey urges women to become more active in currently male-dominated professional organizations and to contact and maintain visibility among those with power in the educational system.

Gribskov (1980) and Kalvelage (1978) feel that in order to improve women's representation in administration, a strong feminist network must be established and maintained. They base this on the fact that women's participation in educational administration improved when a large, active feminist organization existed during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Women's participation declined as the strength and focus of these organizations diminished; however, increased interest in women in administration has occurred since the revival of a strong feminist perspective in the 1960s.

As Kanter (1977) found in her study of organizational dynamics, that the problems women face along their career paths are a result of their low representation within the educational administrative hierarchy. To improve the situation, the numbers of women in administration must be increased so that their presence is neither threatening nor a curiosity. This improvement will require an awareness of both subtle and direct obstacles in women's career paths with deliberate efforts by educational institutions to remove these deterrents and to establish an equitable balance of women and men leaders.

Recommendations for Future Research

The majority of current researchers suggest that to solve the problem of women's underrepresentation in the principalship, a new perspective needs to be considered and pursued through research and programs. Instead of continuing the search for answers to traditional questions concerning women's competence, women's aspirations and/or women's nature in order to support or refute such assumptions as "women do not want to be principals," "women are not capable of being principals," or "leadership is not in women's nature," future research should view these assumptions as symptoms of existing social conditions. Examining underlying social attitudes in general and institutional personnel procedures in particular should provide the bases for future theories and new approaches to solving the problem.

Some of the areas recommended for future research should focus on the following:

Career paths

- Observe women's early socialization, especially as career paths begin in elementary and secondary education.
- Follow the paths of students entering education in colleges and universities.
- Continue these studies through graduate school.
- Observe the hiring process, both from the side of the applicant and from the position of the employer (See Schmuck, 1980, for the method used by the SEEL program).

Aspirations

- Observe family life and the difference in socialization. Continue these observations through elementary and secondary school.
- Determine the kinds of support women receive when they express aspirations for nontraditional careers. How does support during undergraduate years affect their desire to attend graduate school?
- Examine how advisors in graduate school influence aspirations. What prospects do they present to women expressing the desire to enter administration? How much support do they provide?

— Follow women's experiences in the job market. Do universities provide them with sufficient career guidance and support? How does their job search influence their future career goals?

— Examine the level of on-the-job support and encouragement for women's advancement.

New research should also examine the influence of women's role outside the field of education upon their aspirations and career path:

- How do women perceive career/family role conflicts?
- How do successful two career families distribute responsibilities?
- What are the similarities and differences between women who marry early in their careers, those who marry late and those who choose not to marry?
- The same questions need to be answered about the decision to have children. How does childbirth early in careers or late in careers or the decision not to have children influence career paths and aspirations?

Observations of these processes should help determine where the formal and informal filters are along the career path and what changes should be made in the hiring process to open the administrative field to all qualified applicants.

The most significant influences on aspirations should be identified and actions taken to counter those influences which lower women's career goals. Some studies in this area should focus exclusively upon the development and concerns of minority women educators, a group neglected in past research.

Trend data are essential for productive research. National statistics on administrative positions are limited, and even organizations as encompassing as the National Center for Education Statistics have limited data bases, especially where racial/ethnic information is concerned. Organizations such as the National Education Association have cut back drastically on data collection resulting in the loss of trend data. Even data by sex are not published for testing programs such as the Educational Administration and Supervision Test administered by Educational Testing Service in Princeton, New Jersey. The gap is widening between present data collection practices and researchers' need for current information.

The position of principal also needs to be examined. The trend seems to be one of low aspirations among all teachers (Fisher, 1980). Is this simply a reflection of the current shrinking job market?

- Does the function of principal consist of enough opportunity and power to make the effort to attain it worthwhile?
- Does moving into administration require changes in the individual that make principalships undesirable? Is the socialization process such that an individual's culture and values must be sacrificed in order to achieve success? (Valverde, 1980)
- How can the hierarchial system be changed not simply to accept but to actively search for enriching cultural diversity?

Another direction for research would be an examination of systems where sex and race equity is working. The Oakland Unified School District's successful 8-point affirmative action plan should be considered (Love, 1979). If the findings warrant, the results of such research could be disseminated nationally for other districts to apply when they are developing their own plans.

Researchers tend to agree that the only way any real changes in the hiring patterns in the field of education are going to take place is to hire a large number of women in the field immediately. As Kanter (1977) points out, tokens have little influence on the structure of power and opportunity within organizations. Employers and applicants must be aware of the ways in which informal networks close systems to qualified applicants. Employers must be aware of and accountable for their own participation in these processes and actively work to change their own attitudes and behavior. Once the employer becomes aware of these processes, active effort must be made to recruit and hire enough individuals from excluded groups to assure that their diverse contributions will be included in decision making and policy development.

Women have a long history of educating and of supervising the education of our nation's children. The factors excluding them from the field of administration have no relationship to their ability to lead. Qualified women teachers should have the opportunity to become principals for their own satisfaction, for the improvement of education and for the enrichment of the children in the classroom whose perceptions of their own opportunities in the world are learned primarily from observing the structure of power in our schools.

APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B

ERIC Descriptors

A. principals
assistant principals
supervisors
high school supervisors
elementary school supervisors
middle management
administrator qualifications
administrator role
administrator selection
administrator characteristics
Free Text: administrator(s)

B. minority group
racial factors
racial balance
minority group teachers
Spanish Americans
Puerto Ricans
Mexican Americans
Indo Chinese
Navajo
American Indians
Cubans
blacks
Free Text: Third World, Hispanic, Chicano

C. females
sex differences
sex role
sex stereotypes
Free Text: women

D. secondary schools
high schools
middle schools
elementary schools
elementary education

NOTE: "Free text" searching was used to identify these words as they appeared in titles, abstracts or descriptors.

APPENDIX C

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